

CASES IN INDIAN ADMINISTRATION

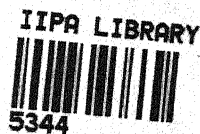
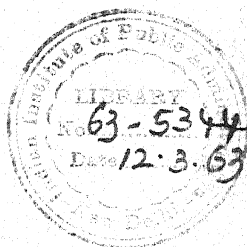
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CASES
IN
INDIAN ADMINISTRATION



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THE INDIAN INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
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PREFACE

THIS IS THE SECOND VOLUME of Cases in Indian Administration, prepared under the direction of the Committee on Case Studies.

The book contains five cases, dealing with a fair variety of administrative case narratives. Each case is presented in a frame of reference suited to its circumstances, and to the nature of the material available for its study. The case studies are designed to be limited in scope; a main reason for this is to enable the case to focus attention upon selected and significant facets of decision-making in the administration. The Committee has avoided any uniform pattern of presentation of the case material, so as to allow a fair amount of experimenting by the case writers during the present phase of the programme in Indian Administration.

The attempt in each case study is to reconstruct in writing the entire array of events as they happened; and to examine the chronicle of events in order to illuminate the administrative process. A case may sometimes look somewhat like a drab chronological narrative of events. But even where it may lack an incisive analysis of the process, it will not detract from the usefulness of the case study as teaching material, and as an operational and scientific tool in the advancement of theory and practice of public administration.

The Committee is grateful to the case writers for the pains that each of them has taken in collecting the facts and writing the cases. Theirs is a pioneer venture in this field in India.

The success of the case study programme has been largely due to the devoted and unremitting effort of the Case Committee's Secretary, Shri B.S. Narula; and to the Indian Institute of Public Administration for containing the Committee and its programme and for making available the facilities of the Institute for the purpose.

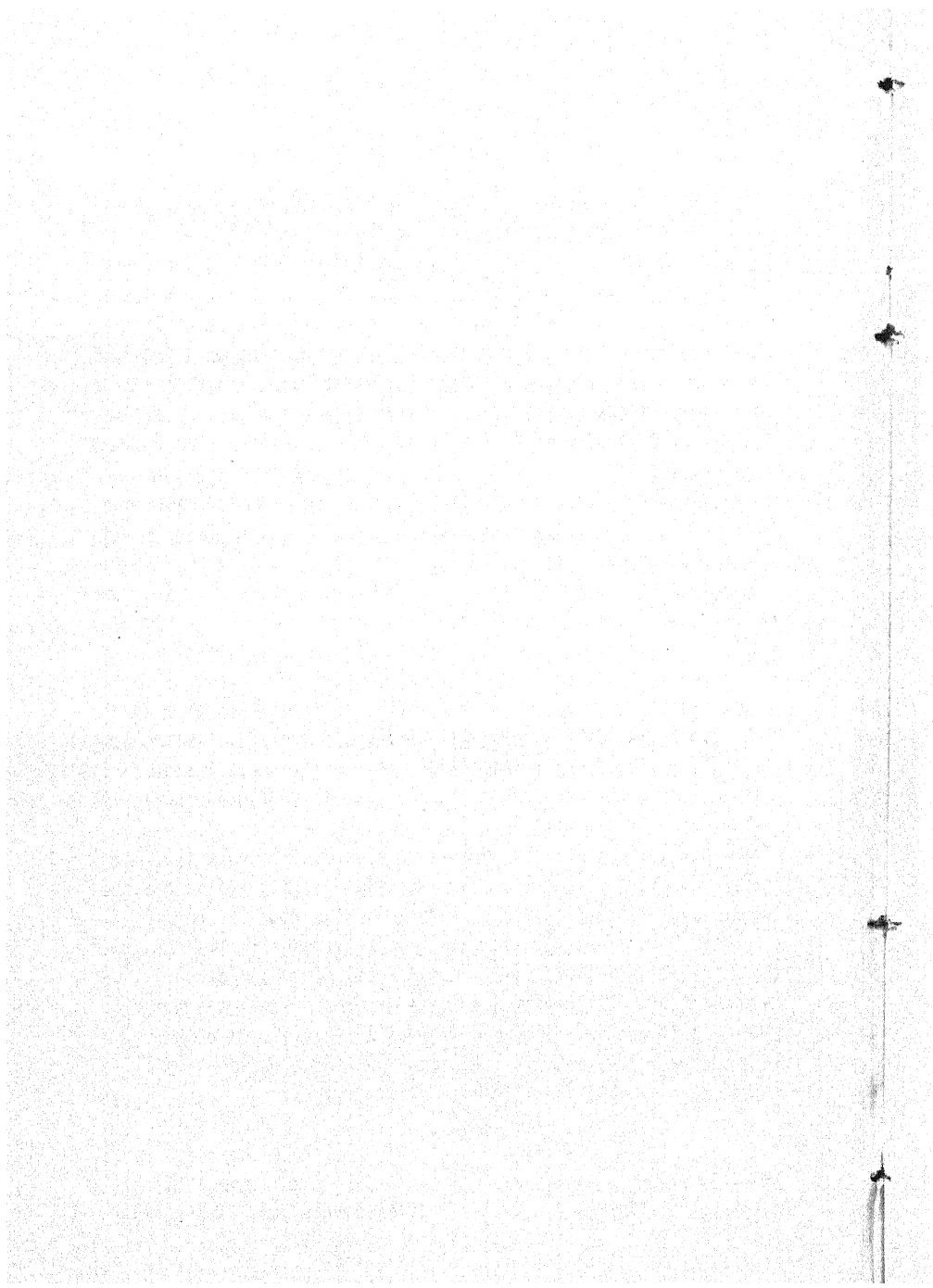
S. S. KHERA

Chairman

Committee on Case Studies

New Delhi

January 23, 1963



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

OUR GREATEST DEBTS are to the Government of India for the facilities extended to the case writers and the permission to publish the case studies included in this volume. We also wish to place on record our appreciation of the guidance and advice given to the case writers by: (a) Shri S.C. Chaudhri, Economic and Statistical Adviser, Ministry of Food and Agriculture; Shri B.B. Ghosh, formerly Secretary, Department of Food, and at present Chairman, Calcutta Port Trust; Shri V. Shankar, Secretary, Department of Food; (b) Shri K.R. Damle, formerly Secretary, Department of Agriculture, and now Secretary, Ministry of Mines and Fuel; Shri V.S. Hejmadi, formerly Chairman, Union Public Service Commission, and at present Visiting Professor at the Indian School of Public Administration; Shri G.R. Kamat, Secretary, Department of Agriculture; Shri T.S. Krishnamurti, Deputy Secretary, Department of Agriculture; Shri K. Sankaran, Deputy Secretary, Department of Expenditure, Ministry of Finance; (c) Shri P.P. Agarwal, formerly Joint Secretary, Ministry of Irrigation and Power, and at present Director, India Supply Mission, Washington, D.C.; Shri Kanwar Sain, formerly Chairman, Central Water and Power Commission, and at present Senior Consultant, E.C.A.F.E., Bangkok; Shri S.S. Kumar, formerly Chairman, Central Water and Power Commission, and now Director-General, Technical Division, Ministry of Economic and Defence Co-ordination; Shri S. Lall, Chairman, Damodar Valley Corporation; Shri S.C. Mishra, Deputy General Manager, Damodar Valley Corporation; (d) Shri S. Banerji, Deputy Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs; and (e) Shri M.R. Bhide, Secretary, and Shri S. Chakravarti, Additional Secretary, Ministry of Community Development, Panchayati Raj and Co-operation; Shri B. Mukerji, formerly Joint Secretary, Ministry of Community Development, Panchayati Raj and Co-operation, and at present Managing Director, State Bank of India, Bombay; Shri B.D. Pande, formerly Joint Secretary, Ministry of Community Development, Panchayati Raj and Co-operation, and at present Joint Secretary, Ministry of Economic and Defence Co-ordination; Dr. Fayette W. Parvin, Assistant Representative,

Ford Foundation, New Delhi; Shri K. Rajagopalan, Under Secretary, Ministry of Community Development, Panchayati Raj and Co-operation; and Shri G.V.K. Rao, formerly Secretary, Planning Department, Government of Mysore, and at present Commissioner, Belgaum Division, Mysore.

The Case Programme in Indian Administration has been made possible by the generous grant given by the Ford Foundation, and the help and advice received from time to time from Mr. Edwin A. Bock, Staff Director, Inter-University Case Program, New York.

We are especially indebted to Shri L.P. Singh, Additional Secretary to the Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, and Editor, the Indian Journal of Public Administration, and a member of the Committee on Case Studies, for his valuable advice and guidance.

INTRODUCTION

THE CASE PROGRAMME IN INDIAN ADMINISTRATION

ONE OF THE MAIN OBJECTS of the Indian Institute of Public Administration is to promote the study of and research and training in public administration. The case method has much to commend itself in the realisation of this object.

The importance of case studies for instruction and teaching in public administration was for the first time emphasised at the Seminar on "The Study and Teaching of Public Administration at the Indian Universities" convened by the Institute in May 1956. The Seminar was of the view that case studies illuminating the administrative processes involved in the framing of public policies and their execution at all levels of Government—national, state and local—would be highly useful in promoting the study and teaching of public administration in India. Thereafter, the formulation and implementation of a programme of case studies received the attention of the Institute from time to time. It was not, however, until 1960 that a real start could be made in this direction. In October that year, the opportunity of the visit of Shri S.S. Khera, I.C.S., the then Secretary, Department of Mines and Fuel, Government of India to the U.S.A. was taken to request him to discuss the question with Mr. Edwin A. Bock, Staff Director, U.S. Inter-University Case Program, New York. As a result of these discussions, Mr. Bock visited India in March 1961, and with his assistance the Institute moved further to organise a programme of case studies in public administration.

The Committee on Case Studies

The Institute set up, on March 25, 1961 a Committee on Case Studies with the following membership:

- (1) *Shri S.S. Khera*, (Chairman)

Visiting Professor,

The Indian School of Public Administration,
and Cabinet Secretary

to the Government of India.

- (2) *Shri L.P. Singh*,
Additional Secretary,
Ministry of Home Affairs,
Government of India, and
Editor, The Indian Journal of Public
Administration.
- (3) *Prof. S.V. Kogekar*,
Principal,
Fergusson College,
Poona.
- (4) *Prof. M.V. Mathur*,
Head of the Department of
Economics & Public Administration,
Rajasthan University,
Jaipur.
- (5) *Prof. V.K.N. Menon*,
Director, Indian Institute of Public
Administration, and Principal,
The Indian School of Public Administration.

The Committee co-opted as its member Shri P.R. Nayak, Managing Director, Indian Refineries Ltd., on January 7, 1963.

AIMS AND OBJECTS

At its meeting held on March 27, 1961, the Committee defined the main objects of the Case Programme as follows:

- “(1) To promote a deeper and wider understanding of the functioning of the Indian Administration in its environmental and institutional framework; and
- (2) To build up a body of systematic knowledge about the administrative process in India;
this may be of use in (a) the teaching of public administration, and (b) also in indicating improvements in administrative practices and procedures.”

The first object is to enable the interested citizens to have a better appreciation of the complexities of the administrative decision-making process. In the context of inadequate knowledge about the operation of the administrative process in India, the public is apt to draw hasty conclusions. [It sees a particular

administrative decision or incident from a narrow and inadequate point of view and not in the perspective of all the conflicting objectives, policies and issues having a bearing on it. The Committee believes that well-balanced and objective narratives about a series of selected decisions would help the uninformed to understand and appreciate how difficult the job of the administrator is; how the administrator has to function within institutional and situational constraints and has to decide upon a course of action or policy with limited data to guide him, and with a host of known and unknown variables likely to affect the final results; how the consideration of the 'public interest' is paramount in all decision-making in administration; and how 'public interest' is a relative concept in the context of the conflicting claims of different sections of the society and the nation as a whole.

The second object of the Case Programme comprises the advancement of knowledge of administration to promote a systematic study of the administrative process in India. There is much leeway to be made up in building a theoretical framework for the Indian administrative process. The validity of the concepts of public administration, as developed in the Western countries, in their application to the Indian situation has been questioned. The Case Programme, as it develops to its full, is designed to stimulate building up of hypotheses about Indian administration which, it is hoped, would throw significant insights, both of theoretical and practical utility. The hypotheses, when tested by a large number of case studies of similar type and not refuted, would help provide a systematic body of knowledge about Indian administration. The case studies would also assist in promoting the comparative study of public administration by highlighting the several conditioning factors which comprise "the Indian administrative context".

The systematisation of knowledge about the administrative process in India will, in turn, have two major uses. The first is pedagogical—to give the students a "vicarious experience in administration". A case study is a photogenic presentation of a complex administrative situation so as to give the reader a sense of participation in it. It gives him a realistic picture of what administration is actually like, as also an awareness of how the administrative system operates. The case method as an instrument of teaching of public administration in

India has thus great potentialities.

The building up of a systematic knowledge about the administrative process in India would also help in improving the administrative practices and procedures. It is presumed that the cases prepared by the Institute would be used in courses of training for administrators, both for probationary training and in refresher courses. By illuminating the varied, complex and conflicting interests, attitudes and motivations and other factors which go into the making of administrative decisions, or lead to delays in their execution, case studies would help train the civil servants in considering the implications of and the alternatives to different decisions they may be called upon to make, within the broader framework of the political, economic and social conditions obtaining in the country. They would also deepen the insights of the civil servants into the relationship between public ends and means and enable them to realise fully the need for empirical investigations in formulating public policies.

THE CASE PROGRAMME AT WORK

The Pilot Project on Case Studies

Considering the newness of the Case Programme and the administrative conditions in India, the Committee on Case Studies resolved in March 1961 that, to begin with, a Pilot Project on Case Studies should be undertaken with the following aims:

- (a) to secure detailed knowledge about the difficulties likely to arise and the methods to be used in pursuing the Case Programme;
- (b) to explore the feasibility of preparing a Case Book on Indian Administration; and
- (c) to provide a demonstration of the usefulness of case studies for the benefit of administrators and scholars.

The finance for the Pilot Project was found from the second Ford Foundation grant to the Institute. This grant included a provision of Rs. 75,000 for the Project, to be operated over a period of three years.

The Selection of Case Writers

As regards the *modus operandi* of preparation of case studies,

the Committee decided upon the following arrangements:

- (1) Certain case studies could be prepared by some of the senior trainees at the Indian School of Public Administration, either on the basis of their own past experience or by collection of new material on selected problems assigned to them.
- (2) Case studies relating to the administrative process at the higher levels should be done by experienced administrators, teachers and research workers.
- (3) The Committee would assign case studies after taking into consideration all the relevant factors, e.g., the suitability of the subject; the competence of the case writer, the likelihood of his securing access to departmental records, etc.
- (4) The Committee would help the accredited case writers in securing access to departmental records by giving suitable letters of introduction and in other ways as considered appropriate in each case.

During the period April 1961 to January 1962 the Committee assigned about 20 cases. Of these, first drafts of eight cases were ready by the end of January 1962.

Workshop and Seminar on Case Studies

With a view to training the case writers in techniques of case preparation and promoting an awareness in the university and Government circles about the usefulness of case studies in public administration, a Workshop and a Seminar were organised from February 5 to 20, 1962. The expert services of Mr. Edwin A. Bock were secured for a period of about three weeks. The Workshop (February 5-15) consisted of scrutiny of the first drafts of some cases and discussions by Mr. Bock with individual case writers and with groups of case writers—one group of case writers from Government departments and the second group of Institute and School staff.

The Seminar met from February 15 to 20. About 40 case writers and interested Government officials and teachers of public administration participated. The main objects of the Seminar were:

- (1) To consider the objects and uses of case studies in public administration;

- (2) To discuss the methodology and techniques of case preparation;
- (3) To demonstrate the different methods of teaching of cases in public administration;
- (4) Exchange of ideas and experience in respect of case studies in public administration and allied fields in India and other countries;
- (5) Measures for the promotion and expansion of the Case Programme.

Difficulties Regarding Case Preparation

The three major problems in the preparation of the case studies related to: (1) securing material from Government Departments and 'clearance' of cases by them for publication; (2) provision of suitable research assistance and general guidance to the case writers drawn from Government; and (3) the difficulty of portraying in full the administrative reality of a case in the light of the constitutional, institutional and professional limitations within which the Government servants work in India.

The access to Government records and final clearance of the case studies for publication by the Department or Ministry concerned was facilitated by the issue of instructions by the Government of India to Secretaries of Ministries and Heads of Departments to make available to the Institute and other sister institutions case material of real educative value. In this connection it may be of interest to note that in its report, placed in the Library of Parliament on May 17, the Committee on Administration observed as follows:

"The usefulness of the case studies as material for training in institutes like Academy of Administration for I.A.S. Officers at Mussoorie, and also non-government training institutes, like the Indian Institute of Public Administration and the Administrative Staff College, Hyderabad, has been recognised and the Heads of Departments have been authorised to release, after due scrutiny, suitable material of real educative value for the purpose of case studies."

Research assistance was provided to some of the case writers, in view of their preoccupation with official work. Assistance in regard to techniques of case writing was given by the Secretary

of the Committee, and by Dr. Jitendra Singh, Reader in Public Administration, the Indian School of Public Administration, who was associated with the work of the Committee from October 1961, on his return from the U.S.A. after two months' training in the case method at the Inter-University Case Program, New York.

The difficulty in regard to reconstructing the events, concerning a case, in their entirety is discussed later.

THE NATURE AND SCOPE OF CASES

Criteria for Selection of Subjects

In selecting subjects for case studies, the Committee felt that it was essential to take into account the constitutional system and the administrative practices and conventions of the country, as also the tenor of political and administrative life and the attitudes of the administration and the people towards each other.

The Committee was of the opinion that the chief object of case study was to illumine the whole administrative process by studies relating to particular administrative decisions, and if cases involving the Minister's or Cabinet decisions were left out, the Case Programme would lose much of its educative value. Constitutionally, the responsibility of the Cabinet was always there even when a decision was taken by a permanent official. A case study was in the nature of an objective analytical study and did not require the sort of critical judgment of the decision, which might offend the decision-maker. In the West, including the United Kingdom, memoirs by leading personalities in former Governments had laid bare the decision-making process for the benefit of the administrators, scholars and the general public; and there was no reason why the case studies of decisions which were no longer live issues could not be undertaken without any harm.

The Committee was convinced that the fear that case studies would lead to destructive criticism of Government policies or procedure was unjustified, considering that ignorance about the decision-making process in Government was often responsible for unfair criticism. It felt that constructive criticism, which might follow in the wake of carefully selected case studies, such

as the Committee had decided to undertake, should be welcomed as a means of improving the decision-making process and provoking creative thinking within the Government circles.

The Committee accordingly laid down the following general criteria for selection of case studies:

(a) Cases to be preferred:

1. "Burnt-out" cases, provided the case is not too "burnt-out".
2. Fairly recent cases.
3. Cases significant from the point of view of administrative principles and methods.
4. Cases useful for teaching, particularly for further study of the type represented.

(b) Cases to be avoided as far as possible:

1. Unresolved cases.
2. Undue duplication of types.
3. Purely or mainly political cases.

As to the actual choice of subjects for case studies, the Committee thought that in the light of their contemporary importance the following problems, among others, should receive prior attention:

- (a) Development administration, e.g., various aspects of public undertakings, formulation and processing of projects, etc.;
- (b) Relations of the administration with the public;
- (c) Relations between the Union Government, State Governments, and local authorities;
- (d) Audit; and
- (e) Local administration.

During the period April 1961-January 1963, the Committee assigned in all about 30 cases to teachers and practitioners of public administration; of these, seven had to be dropped subsequently for certain reasons, such as lack of access to official records.

Most of the cases assigned by the Committee deal with policy rather than its execution. In selecting the cases, while placing emphasis on policy decisions, the Committee decided not to ignore the humble aspects of administration—decisions relating to policy execution, procedures and methods of work, etc. In view of certain case studies in O & M undertaken

by the Central O & M Division of the Cabinet Secretariat, the Committee felt that while such studies should not be excluded, the concentration should be on policy cases.

Limitations of Indian Cases

The Cases in Indian Administration have certain limitations which inhere in the parliamentary form of government, the doctrines of civil service neutrality and anonymity, the constraints imposed on Government servants under the Government Servants Conduct Rules on their making any public statements on facts or opinions which have the effect of adverse criticism of any current or recent policy or action of the Government, and the code of their professional conduct which has developed in such a climate. It has not, therefore, been possible to 'capture' in the case studies every idea, consideration, reaction or motive which influenced the taking of a particular decision by an administrator. The case studies accordingly concentrate mostly on official actions, particularly those recorded in writing, to the exclusion of the informal factors. The latter, e.g. values and goals, human relationships, group pressures, etc., are suggested only indirectly in the case narratives.

Another limiting factor has been the inability, at this stage of the Case Programme, to interview the persons involved in the decisions. In some cases the Government Departments have not been as helpful, in allowing access to official records of a confidential nature, as in others.

As it has not been possible to portray individual actors in the Indian administrative scene, efforts have been made to indicate, in some of the cases, the thinking at different levels in the administrative hierarchy which, it is hoped, will help the students and the laymen to get some insight into the working of the administrative process.

The administrator portrayed in the Indian case studies is an individual acting in the institutional setting of his administrative organisation in the broader context of the constitutional framework, political life and social and economic conditions. The case narratives generally unfold inter-agency relationships, the sequence of agency actions and the alternatives which were open in making of a substantive policy decision. Administrative agencies are the main actors, and the individual civil servants

receive insights and points of view from their institutional 'roles'. As under the existing constitutional and institutional arrangements, the civil servants in India mostly work in an impersonal climate with an attitude of objectivity, the case studies do portray fairly well some picture of administrative reality.

* * *

Considering that the Case Programme in Indian Administration is at present in a stage of experimentation, and is still to be 'sold' to Government, the Committee has decided to publish case studies as soon as they are ready in draft form, without any attempt to perfect them. It is hoped that such a publication will not only help in collecting additional material from knowledgeable readers but also provoke thinking about the usefulness of the case method for the study, teaching and practice of public administration in India.

The present volume contains five cases; a case study on "The Establishment of the Heavy Electrical Plant at Bhopal" by Shri S. S. Khera has already been published.

B.S. NARULA
Secretary
Committee on Case Studies

DECONTROL OF FOODGRAINS

IN 1952

BY

RAM SARAN

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*

THE SETTING

TO APPRAISE PROPERLY the process of decision-making that led to relaxations in and ultimate removal of a decade-old food controls, initiated during the Second World War, it is necessary to review briefly the developments that had led to the evolution and intensification of these controls.

Introduction of Food Controls

It was in December 1941¹ that the Government of India for the first time imposed a control on prices of wheat to check the rising tendency in prices that had come into evidence after the outbreak of the Second World War in September 1939. Control on prices was, however, not accompanied at that time by control on supply or movement. It was with the Japanese sweep of conquests over South-East Asia and the cessation of imports from Burma—the main supplier of rice to India—that the food situation in the country became acute and called for a comprehensive regulation of supplies. The first major step taken to regulate supplies was to draw up a procurement plan for food-grains to “distribute the deficiencies all over India so that the surplus areas could take their share of the general deficiency

NOTE : The author is thankful to Shri G.D. Khorana for his assistance in preparation of the Case Study.

1. Controls on prices and supplies of foodgrains were enforced by Provincial Governments under the powers delegated to them by the Central Government under the Defence of India Act, 1939. This Act, *inter alia*, provided for the Central Government to “make such rules as appear to it to be necessary for maintaining supplies and services essential to the life of the community. Section 4 of the Act enabled the Government of India to delegate powers under the Act to the Provincial Governments and Section 5 authorized the Provincial Governments further to delegate powers conferred on them. Of the rules made under the Act, Rule 81 provided for (a) regulating production, treatment, keeping, storage, movement, transport, distribution, disposal, acquisition, use, or consumption of articles or things of any description whatsoever; (b) controlling the prices or rates at which articles or things of any description, whatsoever could be sold; (c) requiring the keeping of books, records, etc. It was under this rule that most of the regulations were made and controls exercised on food prices and supplies. The rules were amended from time to time, and in particular, on November 28, 1941, powers were delegated to Provincial Governments to make rules.

on an all-India basis and the deficit States might not be left to face their shortages alone". As a corollary, the free market policy was given up and a Basic Plan came into operation, under which the Government of India took upon itself the responsibility of allocating internal supplies and imports to the deficit areas. Movement of supplies from one State to another and also within the States, except under Government direction, was thus banned. Imports on private account were also banned and purchases from overseas were arranged on Government account only. Exports of foodgrains were prohibited too. These steps naturally threw on Government the responsibility of feeding the people, who could not receive their supplies through the normal trade channels, and, consequently, a scheme of rationing was introduced to provide equitable share of food for all.

Experiment with Decontrol in 1947

In view of a succession of bad crops, after the end of the War, the comprehensive scheme of controls involving the fixing of prices, internal procurement, imports from abroad on Government account, ban on exports, planned movement of supplies within the country and rationing of supplies remained in force until about the end of 1947. In December 1947,^a a trial was given to a policy of decontrol, in view of the insistent demand from the public including producers, consumers and public leaders who had come to believe that controls led to such evils as blackmarketing, corruption, fraud, etc. The view was expressed by Mahatma Gandhi that there was 'enough of food' in the country and that the removal of food control would "not result in a famine and deaths from starvation". Progressive decontrol of foodgrains was also suggested in December 1947 by the Foodgrains Policy Committee, presided over by Shri Purshottamdas Thakurdas.

The salient features of the decontrol policy announced by the Government were: gradual withdrawal of rationing and price control, removal of restrictions on movement of foodgrains and greater emphasis on internal procurement rather than on imports. It was hoped that the revival of free market in the derationed areas would bring out hidden stocks. The food bonus scheme which was introduced by the Central Government,

2. The Food Minister at that time was Dr. Rajendra Prasad. (Editor)

from the beginning of 1948, allowing to States a bonus both on quantities of cereals procured within the State and on quantities exported to other States, was expected to provide an incentive to the States to increase procurement and production of foodgrains. It was also expected that the increased production and larger market supplies would prevent an undue rise in market prices. These expectations, however, did not materialise. Adverse weather conditions resulted in a shortfall in production, as a consequence of which the internal procurement declined from 4.1 million tons in 1947 to 2.7 million tons in 1948. The situation was further aggravated by the combined impact of a number of other factors like low Government stocks, high prices of cereals in the world market, shortage psychology, release of pent-up demand after decontrol, and the push of the latent inflationary pressures. The result was that prices of foodgrains started rising. Between December 1947 and September 1948, the average price of wheat increased in Punjab from Rs. 10.60 to Rs. 21.27 per maund and in U.P. from Rs. 10.86 to Rs. 23.50 per maund. Similarly, the prices of rice during the same period rose from Rs. 13.50 to Rs. 20.16 in West Bengal and from Rs. 13.50 to Rs. 26.37 in Madras. The rise in the prices of foodgrains had its impact on the prices of other commodities too. The policy of decontrol, therefore, proved unsuccessful. In these circumstances, in the interest of the consumer, the Government had to step in and there was a switch-back to controls in September 1948.

Reimposition of Controls

On the reimposition of controls, procurement operations were intensified and rationing was extended to additional areas. Total population under all types of rationing which had declined from 145 millions on December 1, 1947 (before decontrol) to 72 millions in September 1948 (just before the reimposition of controls) increased to 120 millions by the end of 1949. The scale of ration per person was also raised in several States. A new form of distribution through relief quota/fair-price shops, introduced during the period of decontrol of 1947-48, continued to function even after recontrol.

Controls were made more vigorous and widespread after the outbreak of the Korean War in June 1950, which had led to a

boom in the commodity markets. The situation in the country was aggravated by a succession of natural calamities. The effect of these natural calamities was most pronounced in the case of Bihar, and the critical food situation that had developed in that State claimed the immediate attention of the people and the Government. Shri K.M. Munshi who took office as the Minister of Food and Agriculture in the Central Government in May 1950 later described the food situation existing at that time in these words: "As you know, soon after I took office, the starvation scare, the outbreak of the Korean War and the floods in the Kosi set in motion forces which upset all our calculations. Panic seized the national mind; hoarding became rampant; procurement dried up; natural calamities created unfavourable conditions and added to the panic. Locusts and earthquakes (in Assam) contributed to the general deterioration. ...Our imports had become insufficient. Our self-sufficiency (in food-grains) pledge provided a target of public criticism. Political groups hostile to us exploited the situation. From July onwards, therefore, it was a period of terrible strain. All other problems became subsidiary to procuring food and maintaining the morale of the people."

To meet the worsening situation, the Essential Supplies (Temporary Powers) Act³ which was enacted in 1946 empowering

3. The Defence of India Act, 1939, which had empowered the Government, *inter alia*, to exercise control on food prices and supplies lapsed on October 1, 1946. To meet the post-war conditions, the Essential Supplies (Temporary Powers) Act, 1946, was enacted that year. Under this Act, too, the administration of controls in respect of foodgrains in regard to which there was an all-India plan of distribution, remained largely the responsibility of the State Governments. The State Governments exercised control under the power delegated by the Central Government in respect of procurement, distribution, movement, prices, etc. of foodgrains. The State Governments had, however, to obtain the prior concurrence of the Central Government before issuing any Orders. The Government of India laid down the broad policies in respect of food controls and also exercised general supervision over their implementation.

On January 26, 1950 the new Constitution of India came into force. Under the Constitution, trade and commerce in, and the production, supply and distribution of, goods remained a State subject, though the Central Government could assume power in respect of the products of industries the control of which would be declared by Parliament by law to be expedient in the public interest. Nevertheless, as Central control of certain essential commodities was considered necessary for at least some time, provision

the Government to regulate prices, supply, distribution and consumption of essential commodities, was amended in August 1950, so as to provide for severe punishment for hoarding of foodgrains. Rationing was extended and larger imports were arranged. Total rationed population increased from 120 millions in December 1949 to 125 millions in December 1950.

It was expected that with the arrival of the new crops in October 1950, there would be an easing of the situation. This expectation, however, did not materialise. The autumn rains which were expected to ripen the kharif crops failed. Production of foodgrains in India showed a large decline and was the lowest since the partition of the country; stocks of foodgrains within the country were very low; due to poor crops procurement was below normal; there was frequent breakdowns in rationing and distribution of foodgrains in certain parts of the country; shipping was difficult to obtain and arrivals of foodgrains from abroad were behind schedule.

The Centre had to keep itself continuously in touch with the States which sometimes had "rations for two days, sometimes rations for one day and sometimes no rations at all in some or the other of their areas". The year 1951, thus, opened with a gloomy portent. The food ration had to be cut from 12 ounces per adult per day to 9 ounces, with effect from January 19, 1951. (In June 1951, the States were, however, authorised to restore the cut and raise the size of ration to 12 ounces.) The rationing commitments increased as rationing had to be extended to new areas and ghost ration cards appeared to multiply. In December 1951, the rationed population in India was 122 millions, i.e., 34 per cent of the country's entire population. In that year, the total offtake from Government stocks reached a record level of 7.87 million tons, while procurement from within the country came down to 3.77 million tons from 4.61 million tons in 1949 and 4.62 million tons in 1950. Market prices in the areas not rationed statutorily and blackmarket prices in the statutorily was made in Article 369 that trade and commerce in, and the production, supply and distribution of, the commodities covered by the Essential Supplies (Temporary Powers) Act should be a subject in the Concurrent List for a period of five years. The Essential Supplies (Temporary Powers) Act, 1946, lapsed on January 26, 1955 and a further Act, namely, the Essential Commodities Act, 1955, was enacted that year to put commodity controls on a firm footing.

rationed areas tended to become unbearable for consumers. It appeared "as though after few years of successful operation the system of rationing and procurement was ending up in a vicious circle of reduced supplies and enlarged demand for foodgrains as a result of impairment of the incentive to produce under the schemes of procurement in force".

PART ONE

THE DEMAND FOR DECONTROL

FOOD CONTROLS had come to be introduced in the country during the Second World War as a purely emergency measure. Food being the most essential item for the life of the community, public attention was always focussed on the working of food controls.

Complaints by Consumers

Different sections of the public had been complaining against the working of these controls right since their reimposition in September 1948. The complaints related mainly to the poor quality of the grains supplied through the ration shops and their high prices relative to those paid for procuring the grains from the farmer. To investigate into these complaints, the Government of India set up, in 1949, the Foodgrains Investigation Committee with Shri L.K. Maitra, Member of Parliament, as Chairman, and five other members—four Members of Parliament and one official representative of the Government. The Committee, in its report, which was submitted to the Government in 1950, stated that “undoubtedly there is substance in most of these complaints some of which are perhaps to some extent inherent in all systems of State Trading.”

The Committee observed that in some areas open markets functioned side by side with the controlled distribution and that such open markets were found to be popular. Though the prices prevailing in the open markets were generally higher than the controlled rates, yet there were hardly any complaints against them, as the consumer could obtain the grain of his choice in these markets. The Committee also noticed that in places where open markets were allowed to function, complaints against the food administration were fewer. This was due to the fact that the people in these areas had the option to buy their requirements in the open market. The prevalence of such conditions in a way justified an extension of the open market system. The Committee also observed that the existing scale of ration, viz.,

12 ounces per adult per day was inadequate and that it was generally supplemented, to however small an extent, by resort to the blackmarket. Blackmarketing in urban areas, being a paying proposition, attracted grain from the rural areas, which not only resulted in unauthorized movement but also in pushing up the prices in rural areas.

Most of the public complaints related to the quality of the material supplied through the ration shops. Some of the witnesses who appeared before the Foodgrains Investigation Committee complained that issues from ration shops were "of indifferently cleaned, bad or unfamiliar grain". There were also complaints that grain was mixed with stones and other foreign matter. The Committee's feeling was that the poor man who could afford to buy only the cheaper grain and who was not so vocal got the worst of the bargain. The complaints on the matter of quality were vociferous partly because of psychological reaction to the supply of grain, which was either unpopular or different from the kind of grain that the people were used to consume. For example, the people who were accustomed to par-boiled rice considered raw rice, however good it might be in quality, as bad. Similarly, undermilled rice was pronounced by some consumers in cities like Calcutta as unfit for human consumption. Again, the imported wheat was considered by consumers of the Punjab and Uttar Pradesh to be 'not so good'.

Another reason which made rationing unpopular, according to the observations made by the Foodgrains Investigation Committee, was the issue of mixed cereals, for example, the issue of atta produced from grist containing a mixture of wheat and barley in Calcutta. The issue of such a mixture lent itself to further adulteration by the miller and the retailer and the result was a widespread discontentment among the public.

The Discontent in Rural Areas

There was an even greater discontent in the rural areas. While referring to the quality of rations issued to the small producers in the rural areas, statutorily rationed, the Committee observed that "the quality of grain in the ration shops situated in rural areas is worse than the quality of similar grain in the nearby urban areas". Even some of the State Governments themselves admitted the reservation of better quality of grain for issue in

urban areas.

Again, there were complaints of high issue prices in rural areas. Consumers who used to draw their supplies from Government shops had to pay Re. 1.00 to Rs. 2.00 per maund more than the price at which Government had secured from their neighbour who happened to be a surplus producer.

Now, a word about the reaction of producers to the procurement system. There was a general feeling that the rigours of procurement were directed mainly against the small producer, leading to widespread dissatisfaction and discontent. The system of procurement then in force in some areas whereby the production of each individual farmer was assessed, and only the grain which was considered sufficient for his requirements was left behind with him, led to "favouritism which caused a lot of discontent and hardship to the small producers". Complaints of harassment of cultivators by petty officials were not infrequent.

As regards prices, neither the producer nor the consumer was satisfied with the prices fixed by the Government. The producers felt that their produce was being snatched by the Government at prices which were not remunerative to them. On the other hand, the consumers were of the view that they were being made to pay unduly high prices for their daily requirements. There was also another criticism in which some of the State Governments also joined, viz., for the same crop, the procurement prices differed widely from State to State. On this point, however, the Commodity Controls Committee appointed by the Government of India in October 1952, with a Member of Parliament as Chairman, to examine and review the working of various commodity controls later observed that "while we feel that at least as between adjoining States there should be some parity of prices in respect of a particular food crop we recognise at the same time that some difference is inevitable on account of the wide differences between the agricultural economy, wages, cost of living, etc. of various States".

The Dissatisfaction Among Traders

The traders had even stronger reasons to be discontented with controls. Price controls had led to the disorganisation of normal trade channels. Procurement by Government also had the effect of diverting supplies to Government. A network of

ration shops and fair price shops had come into existence which were run by selected people, who, in many cases, had no previous experience of the trade. All the traders were licensed, and were required to comply with the provisions of various control orders, including submission of numerous periodical returns. Varying punishments, including seizure of stocks, could be inflicted on them for non-compliance of these orders. A large section of the commerce and trade associations held the view that in spite of distribution control, the controlled commodities "could not reach places where there was a great scarcity, while in many instances there was a glut of commodities in some places". As regards prices, it was argued that as a result of controls, they were not brought under check and instead even recorded a rise. Commodities were not available at controlled rates and black-markets prevailed. Some of the Chambers of Commerce and Trade expressed the view before the Commodity Controls Committee (1953) that controls which had been in existence for about a decade had failed in their objectives, and their effect on the general economy of the country had been adverse rather than beneficial. In support of this view, they pointed out that while the production of cash crops had increased, that of food crops had declined.

Complaint Against Administration of Controls

Much of the opposition to food controls came from the dissatisfaction with the way the controls were administered. Food controls involved "numerous and varied administrative arrangements, both on the part of the Centre and the States". The operations included: procurement from within the country, purchases from abroad, shipping of grains to India, clearance at ports, internal transport, storage and distribution through ration shops. As the Foodgrains Investigation Committee described, "so many agencies are employed in this task and so great is the volume of food transactions that this enterprise has been correctly classed as the biggest State enterprise ever undertaken by the State in India". The approximate value of grain handled by the Centre in 1949 came to Rs. 145 crores, while that handled by the States was Rs. 3,000 crores. The cost of the staff employed at the Centre and in the States in operating food controls in 1951 was nearly Rs. 10 crores. There were also heavy losses in transport

and storage. The rail transport, a Government concern, accounted for the heaviest loss in transit, the total loss in the movement of foodgrains by railways during 1949 being over 2 per cent, i.e., 1,50,000 tons valued at Rs. 70 crores. Most of the State Governments complained of pilferage and malpractices on a large scale on the railways. Losses by other means of transport were lower, being $\frac{1}{2}$ to $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent in road transport and $\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 per cent in river transport.

Although estimates of losses in storage are not available at least some of the godowns maintained by Government lent themselves to heavy losses. The godowns were generally not maintained at the highest level of efficiency. There was a widespread belief that grain deteriorated due to the inexperience and incompetence of those in charge of storage. Sometimes lack of supervision in the matter of fumigation resulted in deterioration. Facilities at hand were generally inadequate and even if the man on the spot proposed to take a particular step it took a long time before adequate facilities were provided to him and in the meantime the grain deteriorated. Lastly, there was said to be a great deal of inter-godown movement resulting in further expenditure on transport and losses in transport. Inter-godown movement was due mainly to uneven distribution of godown space and to errors of planning both of which were said to be remediable to a certain extent. Referring to the wastage of food in transport and storage, Shri K.M. Munshi, Union Minister of Food and Agriculture, stated at an 'At Home' given in his honour by the Indian Merchants' Chamber, Bombay, on May 23, 1950, that "about 5 per cent is perhaps wasted by controls, inefficient storage, hurried transport and the absence of that care with which under commercial and domestic storage small quantities used to be preserved and looked after. About 5 per cent is also frozen by hoarders and black marketeers in keeping the stuff secretly, resulting very often in the whole stuff being ruined by not being used in proper time."

The transport system which was overburdened and possibly ill-adjusted also resulted in an uneven distribution of stocks in the country. With increasing Government commitments to feed the population, consequent on the extension of rationing, in the face of such inefficient storage and inadequate transport facilities, the situation aggravated further.

Some people also complained of rigidity in Government control policies irrespective of the changes in the food situation. It was the failure to adjust control policies to the changing circumstances which was said to be the most important single factor responsible for maladministration of controls. Public co-operation of the desired degree necessary for ensuring the success of such a system of controls was also not forthcoming. The traders were not co-operative because they were the most hard-hit by the imposition of controls. They were deprived of their normal freedom of work and some were even thrown out of work. The co-operation from the producers was not forthcoming as they viewed controls as detrimental to their interests. Many of the consumers too were not satisfied with the controls for a variety of reasons, a detailed mention of which has already been made. While some of the States had appointed Advisory Committees to seek public co-operation and sympathy for the functioning of controls, most of these Committees were not working satisfactorily.

In short, by about the middle of 1952, there was a widespread feeling that controls had created an artificial scarcity which had led to maladministration, corruption, favouritism, nepotism, profiteering, blackmarketing and other evils. The general public had become sick of controls. They were fed up with forming long queues at the ration shops. There was a strong demand for decontrol of foodgrains.

The commodity market generally receded in the beginning of 1952 as a result of the starting of the Korean truce talks and the increase in the production of cereals in the country in the 1951-52 agricultural season. Taking advantage of the fall in prices, the Government of India decided to withdraw in March 1952 its subsidy¹ on most of the foodgrains, which had imposed a heavy financial strain on the Central Exchequer. As a result, there was a rise in the prices of grains issued from ration shops. This led to widespread demonstrations demanding cheap food for the

1. The Government of India had introduced with effect from April 1, 1946, a scheme of subsidizing imported foodgrains so as to maintain a parity between the prices of indigenous and imported foodgrains and thus prevent an undue rise in the cost of living. Government felt that while the continuance of the subsidy imposed heavy strain on the Central Exchequer, it did not make substantial contribution towards lowering the cost of living, and accordingly decided to abolish the scheme with effect from March 1, 1952.

citizens. Some of the political parties were clamouring for revival of free market. The Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party had passed a resolution in 1951 that "it will be preferable to restore the free market with all its attendant risks to continuing the present ineffective and corrupt controls". A belief was growing that there would be no food problem, if controls were removed. Various individuals including Members of Parliament, economists and other prominent public men began to think that the time had come when controls on commodities including foodgrains could be removed. They argued that production of foodgrains had increased during 1951-52. After the withdrawal of the subsidy scheme in March 1952, open market prices of foodgrains in many places had fallen below the rates at which they were being issued from the ration shops; this had led to a shift in demand from the ration shops to the open market and an accumulation of stocks with the Government. These people argued that while controls were introduced during the period of shortages with a view to ensuring the consumers the supply of their minimum requirements at reasonable prices, the situation had since changed and it was high time that people should be freed from the shackles of controls.

PART TWO

REVIEW OF FOOD POLICY AND EMERGENCE OF CONTROVERSY

FOOD CONTROLS had been kept under constant review by Government ever since they were evolved during the Second World War. The experiment of decontrol made in 1947-48 was a product of this review. When that experiment met with failure and controls were reimposed, the Government had the various aspects of food policy examined with a view to effecting suitable adjustments therein. On the question whether controls could be replaced by free market, the Foodgrains Investigation Committee (in 1950) referred to the widespread distrust in the country of the private trade and observed that the time was not yet ripe for complete decontrol. The Committee held the view that vulnerable sections including industrial areas, highly deficit pockets and large cities should continue to be statutorily rationed, while in the other urban areas and in the not so highly deficit pockets, a system of controlled distribution along with open markets should function for some time and in the remaining areas fair price shops should be sprinkled to check the upward trend in prices. The Committee, of course, recommended that steps should be taken immediately "to take the edge off controls and make them more acceptable to the people".

The Foodgrains Procurement Committee which was appointed by the Government of India in February 1950 to enquire into the existing systems of procurement and distribution of foodgrains adopted in various States also came to the conclusion (in 1950) that "in present circumstances, Government has no alternative, except by means of control, to establishing a stable and reasonable price level for foodgrains and ensuring supplies to the consumer at this price. Without establishing such levels of prices, or without their coming about by other means, decontrol is not advisable. In a way, therefore, a controlled food distribution is the other side of the Grow More Food Medal. Without more production, self-sufficiency cannot be achieved. Even with it, however, unless conditions and psychology of

security, which can only come about through a reasonably secure level of prices, are created, any attempt at freedom in food will be unsuccessful, and will mean a reversion to control, in circumstances, possibly even more difficult than in 1948."

Munshi's Proposals for Rationalisation of Food Controls System

In view of the crisis through which the country had to pass during 1950 and the earlier part of 1951, Shri K.M. Munshi,¹ the then Minister of Food and Agriculture, found that food controls could not be dispensed with. In the middle of 1951, however, he saw a silver lining in the clouds and began to think in terms of relaxation of the existing control system. He hoped that, with the large imports that the Government had planned for the year 1951, food position would become fairly easy by the beginning of 1952. Earlier, gram had been decontrolled in August 1950, since the surplus States were unwilling to part with supplies for the deficit States, which had resulted in wide inter-State price disparities. The experiment of gram decontrol had proved highly successful in evening out the prices throughout the country and in making available to deficit States large supplies. Similarly, the scheme of "Selective Control" for sugar introduced in December 1950 which aimed at regulated distribution, at a fixed price, of a basic quota, fixed for all the factories, leaving surplus production to a free market, had been well received by all concerned, including consumers, cane growers and owners of sugar factories. Encouraged by the successful experiments with gram and sugar, and the expected improvement in the food position, Shri Munshi, in the middle of 1951, visualised a scheme under which "control could be relaxed while maintaining control over the more vulnerable areas". The salient features of the scheme were: Foodgrain requirements of the vulnerable areas should be met entirely from imports by the Central Government; States' barriers of movement, prices and control in the uncordoned area should be completely abolished; in these areas ration cards should be cancelled after the

1. Shri K.M. Munshi was Home Minister, Government of Bombay, 1937-39; Member, Constituent Assembly of India and of its Drafting Committee and of Parliament, 1947-52; Agent-General to the Government of India in Hyderabad, 1947; Food and Agriculture Minister, Government of India, 1950-52; Governor of U.P., 1952-57. (Editor).

card-holders were given two months' supplies; and fair price shops should be opened in non-vulnerable areas.

The scheme, however, was not accepted by the Government since it was felt that it might not be possible to import foodgrains from abroad to the extent necessary and also because the expectations of a much better crop in 1951-52 were belied by the natural calamities which affected the standing crops.

Food Controls and the First Five Year Plan

At about the same time, the Planning Commission in its report, "The First Five Year Plan—A Draft Outline" (issued in July 1951) also referred to the problem of food controls. Describing the equitable distribution of foodgrains among different sections of the population at reasonable prices as Government's first duty in the economic field, the Commission said, "In determining food policy, there is no room for any proposal or experiment which detracts from this responsibility or exposes the economy to risk of uncertainty". The Commission recommended monopoly procurement and urban rationing as the minimum measures which should prevail in all States. It also emphasised the need for subsidising distribution of imported foodgrains to avoid a serious effect on the cost of living.

Referring to the demand for decontrol, the Commission observed that different sections of the community were opposed to different controls mainly from a limited point of view, and they could not view the problem arising from abandonment of controls in an overall perspective. According to the Commission, with the restoration of a free market, the traders would take undue advantage of shortages by buying large supplies and charging exorbitant prices from the needy classes. The consumer, therefore, would have no certainty that he would spend less on foodgrains than before. Further, since internal procurement would have already been given up or greatly reduced, the economy would become highly unstable, or vulnerable to market forces. The Commission added that for facilitating the attainment of the targets for food as well as commercial crops like jute, cotton and oil seeds, set in the Plan, it was necessary to maintain an appropriate structure of relative prices. An important step in this direction, according to the Commission, was to prevent the prices of commercial crops

from rising.

Munshi's Second Attempt to Relax Controls

There were, however, indications early in 1952 that "the worst phase of the food shortage had perhaps passed and with another good season the food situation in the country, for the time being, might turn the corner". Shri Munshi, therefore, again reviewed the entire food problem. He had discussions with the officers of his Ministry, members and officers of the Planning Commission and certain non-official experts. Shri Munshi came to the conclusion that the assumptions on which the recommendations of the Planning Commission in the matter of Food Policy were based, were unrealistic.

According to him, in the first place, the country could no longer afford the cost of subsidy which would have been as high as Rs. 55 crores if 3 million tons of foodgrains were to be imported and Rs. 90 crores if 5 million tons were to be imported. Secondly, a policy of integrated price control embracing foodgrains and cash crops, as recommended by the Planning Commission would be difficult to formulate and would be ineffective in practice. Such a policy would succeed only if a co-ordinated system was adopted in which wages and incomes would also be frozen and effective physical controls imposed over all competitive crops. Any policy, operating primarily on the principle of disincentive for cash crops so as to enforce integrated price policy, could possibly increase production only under totalitarian control. Thirdly, the system of controls existing at that time resulted in a reduction in the available marketable surplus rather than in an expansion of it. While it was true that monopoly procurement had succeeded in eliminating the trade, its effect was nullified because the producer had resorted to hoarding. Where the procurement prices given by Government were low, this tendency was further accentuated. At best, the producer brought out his produce at the time of his choice. The consumer, on the other hand, could not afford to wait. This had resulted in scarcity conditions and distress even in the beginning of the crop year. Lastly, the controls had created a cleavage between the surplus States on the one hand and the deficit States on the other. The surplus States hoarded their produce with a view to feeding their people at low prices. The deficit

States, on the other hand, had a perpetual grievance against the former and resorted to pressure and propaganda to secure the maximum allocation of supplies from the Centre. All the States often exaggerated any adverse crop conditions. The Central Government had to depend entirely on the State Governments for obtaining information on estimates of production, requirements, procurement and distribution.

In view of these considerations, Shri Munshi was convinced that the faults of the present system could not be removed "by mere 'servicing'—i.e., polishing something here, tightening a screw there, etc.". According to him, the drawbacks were fundamental and serious.

Shri Munshi, therefore, placed the whole position before the Prime Minister in March 1952. In a letter to him, he suggested a scheme which, while retaining the benefits of the existing controls, would remove some of the serious defects thereof. The essential features of his scheme were: cordoning of large towns and highly deficit areas and meeting their rationing commitments from imported grains; restoration of free market in the rest of the country with adequate buffer stocks being built up for emergency purposes; control of bank credit; banning of future trading in grains and licensing of traders with a view to maintaining a minimum administrative control over them. The scheme was to be put into operation from 1st November, 1952, if it was definitely known that the prospects of the kharif crop were good. The arguments put forward by Shri Munshi in support of this scheme were: "The new scheme would have retained the essential points of the existing system, but done away with its defects. The inter-State bans would have been removed. The control of the Centre would have become more effective. The rationed area would have been readjusted wherever necessary. The food policy would have become relatively free of local political pressure. It would have had a healthy effect on production, marketing, prices, imports, and subsidies."

The Attempt Proves Abortive

The scheme for the relaxation of controls suggested by Shri Munshi was not accepted by the Government because it was felt that the situation required careful watching for some time more before one could conclude that the situation had

eased considerably to warrant relaxation of controls. Moreover, there was a feeling in some quarters that "even if the food situation improved, controls might be required to be continued as a permanent feature of planned economy".

A majority of the State Governments in their written or oral evidence before the Commodity Controls Committee expressed the view even as late as in 1952-53 that controls had reacted well on the economy of the country. They stressed the point that controls had the desired effect of keeping prices steady and effecting proper supply and distribution. All the State Governments agreed that the foodgrains problem was difficult and while some State Governments were opposed to the removal of controls of foodgrains, others were of the view that controls should be removed except in respect of such foodgrains as wheat and rice.

PART THREE

TOWARDS DECONTROL DESPITE CONFLICTING ATTITUDES

Kidwai Reviews the Position

IT WAS in the wake of this strong opposition to decontrol that Shri Rafi Ahmad Kidwai¹ took over on May 14, 1952 as Minister of Food and Agriculture at the Centre.

As soon as Shri Kidwai assumed charge of the Ministry of Food and Agriculture, his attention turned to the problem of food. As a matter of fact, this problem was not entirely new to him; he had been in close touch with it when he was Minister of Communications. To have a closer view of the food situation in order to find solution to the problem, he undertook country-wide tours, held discussions with the officials and people of different States, and saw for himself the actual food situation in different parts of the country. The controversy between control and decontrol having been initiated by his predecessor, he had to take a final decision in the matter. On the matter of allowing subsidy on imported grains, he took no time to reiterate Government's decision by saying, "Why should there be a subsidy? Who wants a subsidy and why?" He thought the question before him was to bring down prices through some other means rather than through subsidy.

Shri Kidwai found that one alternative solution would be to bring down prices by introducing complete decontrol of foodgrains. He discussed this alternative with the State Governments; the Planning Commission had already drawn attention to the dangers of a policy of complete decontrol of foodgrains. Shri Kidwai was also aware of the consequences that had followed the unsuccessful experiment of decontrol of foodgrains in 1947-48. As a result of discussion he had held with people

1. Shri Kidwai was Home and Revenue Minister, U.P., 1946-47 and Communications Minister, Government of India, 1947-51. His achievements as the Communications Minister included the introduction of 'Night Air Mail Service', 'All-up Postal Services', 'Own Your Telephone Scheme', and 'Postal Holiday on Sunday'. (Editor)

and officials during his tour, Shri Kidwai concluded that the alternative of complete decontrol was not an effective solution for India's food problem. Introducing decontrol was "like dealing with gun-powder, or an experienced doctor dealing with a sick person in his convalescent state", remarked a Member of the Parliament.

Shri Kidwai believed that "We can have planned development only under a controlled economy." But he thought that the sort of controls that the country was having had outlived their utility. Shri Kidwai could see that the food position in the country was different from that in 1947-48 when the experiment of decontrol of food had met with failure. While in 1947 the food economy was severely upset due to partition and adverse weather conditions, the position had considerably improved in 1952. The factors that had led to the improvement in the food position during 1952 were: increase in domestic production, large imports from the United States under the long-term loan agreement for the purchase of two million tons of foodgrains, recession in the commodity markets with the beginning of Korean truce proposals, decline in the open market prices of foodgrains, improvement in Government stock position as a result of shift in demand from ration shops to the open market and adoption of certain monetary and fiscal measures by the Government. Shri Kidwai compared the situation in 1952 with that in 1947 in the following words:

"...The position today is quite different from the position in 1947. People have referred to the decontrol of 1947-48 and said and are saying—that perhaps we will meet the same experience. In 1947, when rationing was removed and all the bans on movements and other things were removed, the situation was quite different from what it is today.

"The procurement price then in U.P. was Rs. 13 a maund. The open market price was Rs. 26. Government was finding it difficult to procure at Rs. 13 a maund and had to use all sorts of coercion, including the police. That was the position. It should have been anticipated that the removal of controls would raise the price to the blackmarket prices. And, as was but natural, a week or two after decontrol, prices started to rise and control

had to be reintroduced. ...The prices outside the rationing area are lower today than the issue prices in the ration shops. In U.P., the Government have been procuring wheat at Rs. 16 a maund, and the highest price in any sector is only Rs. 16. If the procurement price had been lowered, the prices would have gone down.

"The offtake from the ration shops is going down because people find it profitable to purchase in the blackmarket.

"...If that is the situation, for whose interest should the present form of control be retained?...The controls were introduced in the interests of the consumers. When control does not serve the consumers' interests and helps in enhancing the price instead of reducing it, it should go. ..."

Shri Kidwai was critical of the existing system of control for another reason too, viz., its expensiveness for the consumer. He remarked, "I find that in one State, the procurement price of rice is Rs. 29 per maund and the issue price for wholesalers is Rs. 38: that is a rise of Rs. 9 per maund plus something that the retailer will have to get before he retails it. Similarly, in U.P. the incidental charges are Rs. 3-12-7 (Rs. 3.78). That is, if they purchase rice at Rs. 14 a maund, it is issued to the retailers or to other States at Rs. 17-12-7 (Rs. 17.78). That is a very huge margin...at least 40 per cent of the increase in the prices is caused by this control and rationing."

Still another reason which led Shri Kidwai to criticise the existing controls was the adverse effects they had on production in some parts of the country. The procurement policy in the Southern States was so vigorous that the producers had no incentive to produce more. At times, the Government took away from the producer all but what he required for his immediate needs, while for the remaining period of the year he was supplied from Government godowns. In Madras, one of the Southern States, the total production of cereals had declined from 7.3 million tons in 1948-49 to 6.6 million tons in 1950-51. On the other hand, in the surplus States of North India, procurement policy was not so vigorous. Under the procurement system prevalent in U.P. and the Punjab, the producer was not tackled directly, though Government allowed no transaction outside the village, except to itself, at a fixed price. Procurement

system in these States being less vigorous, the output of cereals increased from 7.7 million tons in 1948-49 to 8.6 million tons in 1950-51 in U.P. from 1.8 million tons to 1.9 million tons in the Punjab. But as procurement in North India was not very effective, full advantage of the increase in production could not be had for the benefit of the deficit States.

Kidwai Makes up His Mind

Thus, Shri Kidwai was convinced that neither complete decontrol nor continuation of the existing controls would help in achieving the objective of increasing production and keeping down prices. He evolved a middle course between the two extremes. He wanted such modifications in the existing system of controls as were necessary for the purpose of having better production and achieving stable prices. In other words, his scheme involved minimising the irksome features of food controls as far as possible, without incurring the risk of having to increase the import of food or encountering an undue rise in prices. In order to avoid any untoward situation that might arise as a result of relaxations in controls, he was anxious that a beginning should be made in a localised surplus area.

After meeting people of different States, Shri Kidwai had come to the conclusion that to start with his scheme should be tried in 'a surplus State'. He, therefore, tried to bring round some of the surplus States like the Punjab and PEPSU to his viewpoint but none of them felt bold enough to venture the new step.

Madras Decides to Relax Controls

Unable to bring round the surplus States to his point of view, Shri Kidwai's attention was soon drawn to deficit States. In Shri C. Rajagopalachari, the Chief Minister of Madras, Shri Kidwai discovered a strong protagonist of decontrol. Shri Rajagopalachari believed that "there is enough food in the land, if we are careful and avoid waste". He showed not only willingness but also enthusiasm to provide the Madras State as the guinea-pig for giving trial to the policy of decontrol. As a condition for initiating a programme of decontrol, Shri Rajagopalachari had to give an undertaking to the Government of India on two points, viz., (1) procurement machinery

would be maintained, and (2) if procurement had to be restarted, the procurement price would not be higher than the price at which it had been abandoned. The decision to relax controls in Madras, which popularly came to be known as 'the Scheme of Decontrol' was announced by the Government on June 6, 1952, about three weeks after Shri Kidwai assumed charge as Minister of Food and Agriculture.

The decision was taken with full support of the Central Government. Speaking about it, before the General Body of the Congress Parliamentary Party in New Delhi, on June 13, 1952, the Prime Minister remarked that the Central Government fully supported the Madras Government's decision to end food control in the State. In a speech broadcast from New Delhi on June 14, 1952, he justified the decision on the ground that "prices in the free market are low" and "conditions were peculiarly favourable for it there".

While the decision to relax food controls in Madras had been taken with the explicit approval of the Central Government, Prime Minister and some other Ministers did not regard this decision to be a major departure from the basic approach to the policy of controls. The Prime Minister made it clear at the meeting of the Congress Parliamentary Body held on June 13, 1952, that "while there were certain advantages for such a policy in Madras, this did not mean that the Government would extend it to other States also". The Finance Minister, Shri C.D. Deshmukh, also echoed the same view by saying (as late as in November 1952), "I for one am not convinced that laxity or rigidity in methods of procurement has any great effect on production. Even if the Madras experiment proves successful, it does not mean that what we did in Madras should automatically be repeated in other States also, because the result of that would be to stereotype the pattern of control and the burdening of the Centre with the residual responsibility, whatever, it may be."

The main features of the scheme introduced in Madras were (a) suspension of procurement in respect of all cereals, (b) withdrawal of statutory rationing and opening of fair price shops, (c) division of the State into six self-sufficient zones, each zone comprising surplus and deficit areas within which movement was permitted, and (d) removal of price control. Thus, the

scheme paved the way towards free trade in the State. Referring to this step, Shri Kidwai said that this was "an indication of the Government of India's new food policy of gradual relaxation of controls".

The relaxation of controls in Madras was not based on any claims about the country having attained self-sufficiency, judged by internal production, so as to render the continuance of controls unnecessary. Shri Rajagopalachari, when asked to explain the reasons on the basis of which the decision to decontrol was taken, replied, "My reasons are a kind of intuition and no economic doctrine." At the same time, he expressed the hope that the release of the farmer from harassment of controls would increase his enthusiasm for production and that there would be more production leading to fall in prices and to revival of normal trade cycle.

The decision to introduce decontrol in Madras was hailed by different sections of the population. Some of the State Governments welcomed the step and characterised it as a harbinger of the revival of free trade in food. Speaking on the Madras decision, the Assam Supplies Minister, Shri Baidyanath Mookerjee, said that it was a bold step and that conditions permitting, he would also like to suspend food rationing in his State. The Mysore Revenue Minister, Shri Kadidal Nanjappa also said that the decontrol of food would create a psychological atmosphere in Mysore for taking similar action in the matter of relaxing controls. The Praja-Socialist Party leader, Acharya J.B. Kripalani, too welcomed the Madras Government's move to decontrol and relax control on foodgrains. The Chambers of Commerce in some of the Southern States described the Madras decontrol as a "bold and courageous step" and "a first step in the right direction". In its leading article, *The Hindu* in its issue of June 8, 1952, remarked that "the first reaction to the dramatic announcement...will be a pronounced sense of relief. ...The decision to break the vicious system of shortages, procurement and rationing and return to free and unfettered private trade is an act of courage as well as an act of faith." The weekly economic journal, *Indian Finance*, writing in its issue of June 28, 1952, said, "It must be said and most emphatically too that the time for looking at the food problem with excessive caution and trepidation is definitely gone. The

Premier of a big deficit State had the courage to decontrol food. Though there might be local difficulties here and there the population of Madras have taken the step in a spirit of co-operation and in a sense of not a little relief. On the whole, Shri C. Rajagopalachari's courage is being vindicated. Other deficit States are feeling emboldened to copy the step. It would be a curious situation in which the deficit areas function without control and the surplus ones cling to controls. Actually, it appears that the only impediment to decontrol in food on a national scale is the timidity and hesitance of the stronger surplus States. It would be a pity if this timidity infects the Central Government also."

Other States Follow the Lead

The step taken in Madras emboldened other States to proceed in the same direction. Soon, Bihar and U.P. came forward to lift controls on the prices and movement of foodgrains and suspend rationing and procurement, and thus they provided reinforcement to Shri Kidwai's policy of relaxing controls. Other States including West Bengal, Hyderabad, Madhya Pradesh, Madhya Bharat, Saurashtra and Mysore also followed suit before the end of 1952. Shri Kidwai's 'practical' approach made the States believe that there would be no danger in relaxing food controls.

Shri Kidwai insisted that the relaxations in controls should be accompanied by adequate safeguards. His advice to States was that procurement machinery should be retained where procurement was suspended and that fair price shops should be opened where statutory rationing was abolished. He thought over the possibility of the foodgrains prices going up as a result of introduction of decontrol and passing of the wholesale foodgrains trade into the hands of traders. To counter any possibilities like these, the Government of India issued in July 1952, the Foodgrains (Licensing and Procurement) Order, 1952, under the Essential Supplies (Temporary Powers) Act, 1946, which vested the Government with the necessary statutory powers to meet any situation of hoarding and cornering that might develop in the wake of decontrol. Referring to the various safeguards against any adverse effects arising from this policy, Shri Kidwai believed that, "if we can work these checks effectively, we will

meet all the emergencies that may arise and our present decontrol policy will be successful".

Relaxation of Control on Millets

Apart from the relaxations confined to the individual States, a relaxation of all-India character was also announced by the Government in November 1952. This was in respect of controls on millets and other coarse grains. It provided for freedom to State Governments to buy these grains in any other State approved by the Centre and move them into their own States either on State-to-State basis or by purchases through their own agencies. But for this freedom given to State Governments, the existing inter-State cordons on the movement of the grains continued.

The debates on the relaxation of control on millets and other coarse grains in the House of the People on November 17 and 18, 1952, once again brought to the surface the conflict in attitudes within and outside the Government. Making an announcement of the relaxation, Shri Kidwai defended it by saying, "the experience has been that the surplus States have not been very particular about procurement...and we have to procure whatever is there for the deficit areas. Therefore, we are making some changes in the existing controls, that is we are allowing the deficit States to procure in the surplus areas." Shri Kidwai had again certain safeguards against any untoward repercussion resulting from the relaxation. These included: continuation of inter-State cordons except for permission to State Governments to buy in any other State, a close watch on prices in surplus States and retention of controls on rice and wheat. It seems from Shri Kidwai's remarks which he made on November 18, 1952, that he would have taken even a bolder step than what he announced. He said, "The original proposal which I had made was that millets should be given free movement, as there was hardly any procurement of millets. The millets procurement in 1951 was less than six per cent of the total production. In some areas, because the stocks of millets are more than the local requirement, the prices are falling. In some areas, because the requirement of millets is more than the availability, the prices are rising. The surplus States (like Madhya Pradesh and Hyderabad) do not intend to procure millets because they are afraid that with

the falling prices they may have to lose. ...We hope that from the surplus areas of Madhya Pradesh, Madhya Bharat, Hyderabad, PEPSU, and Punjab, we will be able to procure and supply to them (Bombay, Mysore, Madras and Saurashtra)."

Relaxation or Decontrol

The Prime Minister again regarded the relaxation on millets and coarse grains as a mere adjustment of and not a departure from the basic approach to the policy of controls. Speaking in the House of the People on November 17, 1952, he said, "We are adhering to our old policy in regard to every basic matter completely. Nothing...is being proposed which is in any way a change of that basic policy. ...We are making adjustments and certain relaxations which are confined to millets. Nothing is being proposed with regard to wheat or rice. ...In regard to millets, certain relaxations are proposed and even there the basic system is kept in view." Speaking in the same debate on November 18, 1952, he said, "The favourable situation is not so much due merely to Government policy; it is due to other factors also. ...However much you may bring relaxations or adjustments here and there, that basic approach will continue even though the food position may be much better...if we are clearly and demonstrably surplus in food, even then the basic approach would continue. You may change the method of approach but the basic approach will have to continue."

The Union Finance Minister, Shri C.D. Deshmukh, a strong protagonist of controls, thought that decontrol would be injurious to the country and argued in favour of controls. Speaking in the House of the People on November 17, 1952, he said, "Sometimes unexpected shortages develop and in free movement this kind of unexpected shortages are likely to be aggravated into very big shortages as happened in the famine of Bengal in 1943. In Bengal, statisticians have calculated that the original shortage in rice was only six per cent, but the moment it was known that there was going to be a shortage, people started saying that it will develop and the shortage extended to the point at which people could not subsist. That kind of thing is likely to happen in any zone. Therefore, a self-sufficiency zone is not really a zone which can always afford confidently to run a system of decontrol. A country which is self-sufficient cannot

necessarily say that we can run a system of decontrol because then they would have to depend on some kind of import. Therefore I think that some kind of rational form of control is wanted."

The basic approach enunciated by the Prime Minister was also reflected in the Final Report of the First Five Year Plan issued by the Planning Commission in December 1952. The report said that if 'food for all' was to be the effective basis of the policy and if the investment targets in the Plan were to be adhered to, the basic structure of food controls should be kept intact during the period of the Plan. It was observed in the Report that "the free market is not a dependable mechanism when the economy is or is likely to be under pressure due either to short supplies in the country or unfavourable developments abroad". It was, therefore, stressed in the report that "a change in the basic policy could be considered only when a substantial and enduring improvement in domestic production and marketable surplus had materialised and adequate transport facilities had been created to ensure the expeditious movement of foodgrains from one part of the country to another". Referring to the relaxations made in the food control since June 1952, the Planning Commission remarked that these changes should be viewed as changes in food administration in response to changes in circumstances, and the basic policy of keeping down prices to a reasonable level and of ensuring that the available supplies of foodgrains were mobilised effectively for meeting the needs of the vulnerable sections of the community must remain unchanged.

Curiously enough, despite conflicting attitudes, the decontrol policy continued to be implemented step by step until 1954 when food became a totally decontrolled commodity. Obviously, the conflict was in attitudes only; when it came to decisions, the whole Government stood by it. Though Shri Kidwai looked to be more enthusiastic than some of his colleagues in taking the country towards decontrol, he too was not anxious to embark on the experiment in too great a hurry. His approach was that of 'go slow' with necessary safeguards. He rarely spoke in public. But whenever he spoke (to the Pressmen or in Parliament) he exhibited utmost caution in his announcements. Perhaps, he realised that some people were psychologically allergic to the word 'decontrol'. He, therefore, seldom used this expression in

his public utterances. Speaking in the House of the People on November 18, 1952, he said, "Some people have called it decontrol of millets; some have called it general decontrol. But it is nothing of the kind." Speaking on the same subject, a day earlier in the House of the People, Shri Kidwai had said, "But really there is no decontrol. ... We want to introduce certain changes. They may be called a relaxation in the existing controls...but really they are not a relaxation." He even said, "While we want to continue the controls, we have to alter them in the light of experiences we have gained in the last few years." Shri Kidwai assured the Parliament that, "the effect of this relaxation will be watched by Government before any further relaxation of food controls is considered".

The official communique issued by the Government of India on October 24, 1954, on the demise of Shri Kidwai, read as follows:

"By his passing, the Government and the Nation have lost a great patriot, administrator and statesman whose outstanding abilities and brilliant achievements had won universal acclaim. ...

"To the tasks of administration, Shri Rafi Ahmad Kidwai brought to bear his rare and exceptional qualities of clear-sightedness, realistic outlook, boldness and originality of approach, organising ability and a wide and human sympathy and understanding. ...

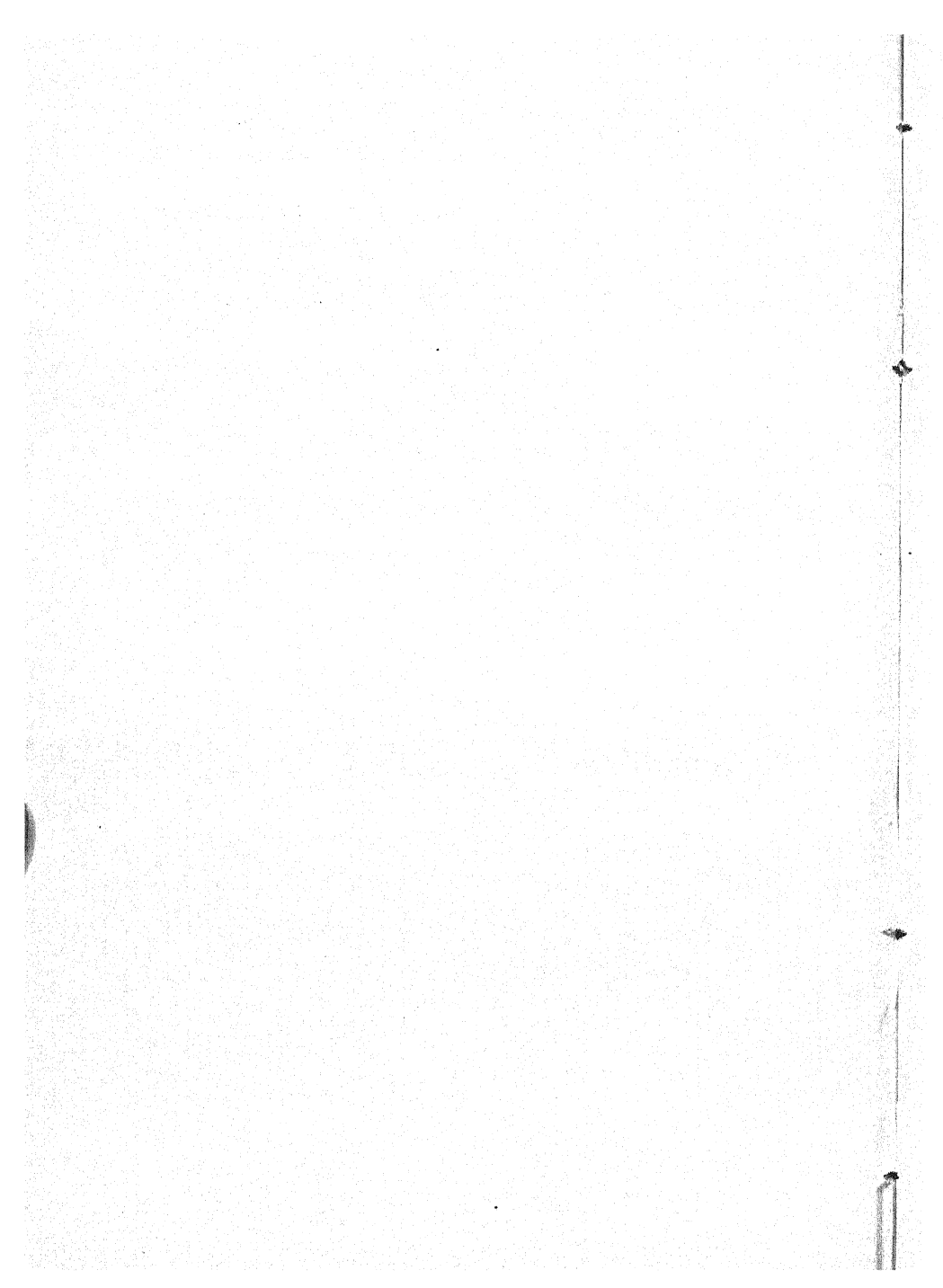
"His unswerving faith in the essential soundness of the food position of the country enabled him again to confound the sceptics. He successfully accomplished his policy of removing all irksome controls on food and his boldness, in a sense, helped the country to turn a situation of scarcity into one of sufficiency. His interests were many and various and his judgment and grasp of affairs so sound that instinctively his colleagues as well as the public turned to for his guidance and advice in the solution of difficult problems."

CHRONOLOGY OF MAIN EVENTS

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|-------------|-----------|--|
| 1939 | September | Under the Defence of India Rules, the power to control 'necessaries of life' is delegated to Provincial Governments. |
| 1940 | May | Provincial Governments are empowered to control prices of foodgrains, pulses and flour. |
| 1941 | November | Emergency powers are given to Provincial Governments, concurrent with the Centre, to regulate production, distribution, consumption and prices of food articles. |
| | December | Government of India fixes maximum price of wheat at Hapur and Lyallpur. |
| 1942 | April | Restrictions on movement of certain foodgrains are imposed. |
| | August | Provincial Governments are given powers to requisition stocks. |
| 1943 | April | The 'Basic Plan' comes into operation. |
| | May | Rationing is introduced in India. |
| | September | Imports of cereals on private account are prohibited and exports of cereals are banned. |
| 1946 | April | The Food Subsidy Scheme is introduced. |
| | October | The Defence of India Act lapses and the Essential Supplies (Temporary Powers) Ordinance, 1946 (later on replaced by Act XXIV of 1946) comes into force. |
| 1947 | September | The Foodgrains Policy Committee (1947) is appointed. |
| | December | Decontrol (of foodgrains) policy is announced. The interim report of the Foodgrains Policy Committee is presented to Government. |
| 1948 | January | Rationing is abandoned in many areas in the country. |
| | | Procurement and export bonus system is introduced. |
| | September | Revised food policy (aiming at reintroduction |

1949	August	The Foodgrains Investigation Committee is appointed.
1950	February	The Foodgrains Procurement Committee is appointed.
	April	The Foodgrains Investigation Committee's Report is presented to Government.
	May	Shri K.M. Munshi takes over as Minister of Food and Agriculture.
	June	The Foodgrains Procurement Committee's Report is presented to Government.
	August	Restrictions on movement of gram throughout the country are removed.
	December	The scheme of 'selected control' on sugar is introduced.
1951	January	The quantum of foodgrains ration is reduced from 12 ounces to 9 ounces as an emergency measure in all areas.
	May	Movement restrictions on gram are reimposed in U.P. and Rajasthan.
	Mid-year	Shri Munshi proposes rationalisation of food controls.
	July	The cut in food rations is restored. Pool prices of imported wheat and rice (coarse) are raised.
1952	January	The Food Bonus Scheme is abolished.
	March	The Food Subsidy is discontinued. Shri K.M. Munshi submits revised proposals to relax food controls.
	May	Shri Rafi Ahmad Kidwai takes over as the Minister of Food and Agriculture.
	June	Relaxation of food controls is initiated (in Madras).
	July	The Foodgrains (Licensing and Procurement) Order is issued.
	October	The Commodity Controls Committee is appointed.
	November	Relaxations in control on millets are announced.
1953	July	Report of the Commodity Controls Committee is presented to Government.

- November Except for the retention of inter-State barriers, wheat and coarse grains are completely decontrolled.
- 1954 January The ban on inter-State movement of coarse grains and gram is removed.
- July Complete decontrol of rice is introduced.
- 1955 January The Essential Supplies (Temporary Powers) Act, 1946 lapses and is replaced by Essential Commodities Act, 1955.



**GRANT OF EXTENSION
TO THE
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF FORESTS**

**BY
M. A. MUTTALIB**

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INTRODUCTION

THE CASE STUDY traces in detail the course of events relating to the grant of extension to the incumbent of the post of Inspector-General of Forests and the controversy to which the issue gave rise between the Ministry of Food and Agriculture and the Union Public Service Commission. Before any such extension could be granted, the Ministry was required to consult the Commission under an executive order issued in 1946. This controversy was one of the last of a series that had been a source of friction between the Commission and the Government during 1950-54,¹ which finally led to Government's withdrawal in 1954 of the executive order, requiring consultation with the Commission in cases of grant of extension to officers of the Central Services Class I and II, after it had been given a trial for about eight years.

On the main issue in dispute, the participants invoked certain basic interconnected issues, e.g., public interest *vs.* service interest; precedent *vs.* change; service structure *vis-a-vis* recruitment and promotion policies. These are highly respectable public service 'battle cries'. The controversy also involved questions like age of superannuation, paucity of trained scientific and technical personnel, and the question of promotion of officers on the eve of their retirement. The difference of opinion on the central issue, extension of service, brought forth the following comment from Government in the Memorandum placed before the Houses of Parliament explaining the reason why Government chose to depart from the Commission's advice: "...Government found that in dealing with proposals for the grant of extension, the Commission tended to lay excessive stress on the 'protection' of the rights and expectations of serving officers. The issue in such cases is whether the public interest would be better served by extending the service of the existing

1. During 1950-54, of the 13 cases in which the Commission's advice was not accepted, six cases related to the question of extension of service to superannuated officers—the total number of the cases of extension referred to the Commission being 119. During 1953-54, three out of the four cases of non-acceptance were in respect of extension of service.

incumbent or by allowing or compelling him to retire and appointing another officer in his place. Government who are familiar with the ability and the performance of the officers in question are in a far better position to decide this issue than is possible for an outside body like the Commission. Government accordingly decided in 1953 that the executive order requiring consultation with the Commission in cases of grant of extension exceeding six months should be withdrawn..."

Was Government's action in excluding the above question from the purview of the Commission valid and desirable? While this case of extension, from Government's point of view, was one of the last of the series that had served to dramatise the need for such an action, the Union Public Service Commission regarded Government's action arbitrary and apprehended that it might have undesirable repercussions on the morale of the services.

The Case Study first describes the problem of extension of service, of the incumbent of the post of the Inspector-General of Forests, as it arose, and then moves on to the controversy as it developed between the Ministry of Food and Agriculture and the Commission, the Ministries of Home Affairs and Finance appearing on the scene at certain stages. In dealing with the dispute, this Case Study treats the basic relationships in larger terms since the special problem of the extension of service to the incumbent in question had real meaning only in the broader context of the respective roles of the Executive (including different Ministries and Departments), the Union Public Service Commission and Parliament in regard to the public services.

THE BACKGROUND

THE ADMINISTRATION OF FORESTS

IN THE PRE-BRITISH PERIOD, forests enjoyed a large measure of natural protection by their inaccessibility, their inhospitable nature and inhabitation by wild animals. The rulers of those days evinced interest only in valuable species such as teak, sal and sandal wood.

With the arrival of the British on the scene in the second half of the eighteenth century, began an unprecedented assault on forests in quest of timber for the British Navy and for constructional use. The Government started taking active interest only towards the middle of the nineteenth century in the management of forests. Then came Lord Dalhousie's famous memorandum of August 3, 1855, that has come to be regarded as the Charter of the Forests of India. He drew pointed attention to the need for the setting up of a forest organisation to ensure a sustained supply to meet the increasing demands for timber, with the railways looming large on the horizon (the first railway had been built in 1854). The year 1856 witnessed not only the appointments of Conservators of Forests in Madras, Oudh, Kumaun and Burma but also the enactment of forest legislation that made the management of forests possible. In 1864, Dr. Dietrich Brandis, who started as a botanist in the University of Bonn and later was the Superintendent of the teak forests of Burma, was appointed as the first Inspector-General of Forests to advise the Government of India. It was largely due to his initiative that the Forest Departments were constituted in the British Provinces.

The Indian Forest Service

The Indian Forest Service was created in 1920. It was intended to provide manpower at the higher level for the management of forests. The Service, like any other All-India Service, was recruited by the Secretary of State, for work in any part of India, with one basis of remuneration. An officer of the Indian Forest Service was assigned to and as a rule remained in one

Province throughout his career but he could be transferred to another Province; and a certain number of officers were taken by the Government of India from the Provinces to assist in the discharge of the Central functions.

The Lee Commission in 1923 suggested that the continued control by the Secretary of State of the services administering the 'transferred subjects' would be anomalous and should be discontinued, since, after the introduction of diarchy in the Provinces, the responsibility for the administration of these subjects was vested in ministers chosen from among the members of the legislatures. This view gained strength from the further constitutional reforms contemplated in the early thirties, and the recruitment to the Indian Forest Service was stopped in 1932.

The Inspector-General of Forests

The Inspector-General of Forests is the adviser to the Ministry of Food and Agriculture, Government of India, on all matters relating to forests and on matters concerning land *vis-a-vis* forestry. He is selected mostly from amongst the senior-most technical Forest Officers of the States (Chief Conservators of Forests) and the President, Forest Research Institute and Colleges, Dehra Dun. Ever since the inception of the post of Inspector-General of Forests in 1864, appointment to the post has been made with an expectation that the incumbent would be in the post for 3 to 5 years in order to ensure continuity of policy.

In the Ministry of Food and Agriculture (Department of Agriculture¹), the following matters coming up before the Government of India are referred to the Inspector-General of Forests for advice:

- (1) The administration and conduct of Research or Training (Education) in the Forest Research Institute, the Indian Forest College and the Northern Forest Rangers College at Dehra Dun and the Southern Forest Rangers College and Research Centre at Coimbatore and the Forest Research Laboratory at Bangalore.
- (2) The selection of Forest Officers from the States and Union Territories for manning the forestry posts at the Research Institute and Colleges, Dehra Dun.

1. In 1952, the present Department of Agriculture was the Agriculture Division of the Ministry of Food and Agriculture.

- (3) The establishment of new Research Units, such as those proposed to be set up at Gauhati (Assam), Jubbulpore (Madhya Pradesh), and Nagpur (Maharashtra) in the Third Five Year Plan period.
- (4) The management of forests in the Union Territory of Andaman & Nicobar Islands, and the timber depots of this territory situated on the mainland at Calcutta and Madras; the allocation of the timber of the territory to the various industries; and the price fixation for such timber.
- (5) General policy and administration in regard to forests in the Union Territories of Himachal Pradesh, N.E.F.A., Manipur, Tripura and Nagaland.
- (6) Plan Schemes of all the States and Union Territories—their general framework and outlines, as also detailed schemes under the Five Year Plans; progress of schemes year by year, appraisal of results and planning of programmes for the future.
- (7) Policy matters in regard to the general forest administration in the various States; principles for disposal of forest produce; supplies of timber to Railways, Directorate-General of Supplies and Disposals and other Government Departments and to the trade in general.

The foundations of the forest policy that governs the management of forests were laid down in the sixties of the last century. The first statement of national forest policy was made by the Government of India on October 19, 1894. The underlying object of this policy was the maintenance of adequate forests for the preservation of the climatic and physical conditions of the country and meeting the needs of the people. A new national forest policy was declared by the Government on May 12, 1952, with emphasis on the development and management of forests to meet the needs for evolving a system of balanced and complementary land use, preventing denudation in mountainous regions and erosion of land, ensuring progressively increasing supplies of timber and forest produce for defence, communications and industry, and realising maximum annual revenue consistent with the fulfilment of national needs. The reorientation of the national forest policy was necessitated by developments of far-reaching importance in the economic and political

fields that took place during the period 1894-1952.

The Inspector-General of Forests acts as a watch-dog and sees that the National Policy on Forests is duly implemented in the various States, and that the condition of forests does not deteriorate through failure to adopt suitable silvicultural and management measures.

An important duty of the Inspector-General of Forests concerns inspection of forests of the States and Union Territories and reporting on the state of forest administration to the Government of India and the State Governments. The Inspector-General of Forests also advises on proper land use, afforestation and soil conservation, especially in the hilly catchments of rivers.

To facilitate co-ordination of forest policies of the State Governments and the Government of India, the Central Board of Forestry, composed of the Ministers in the States and the Centre, responsible for forest administration, has been set up. The Inspector-General of Forests is a member of the Board and advises the Central Government on matters coming up before the Board and on action to be taken on its recommendations.

The State Forest Services

The Forest Services in each State is headed by the Chief Conservator of Forests. The entire State is divided into a number of circles with a Conservator of Forests in charge of each circle; each circle is again subdivided into a number of divisions placed in charge of a Divisional or District Forest Officer. The officers placed in charge of Divisions are normally of the rank of Deputy Conservator of Forests. Assistant Conservators are usually attached to forest divisions to help the D.F.O. in his work or for training.

The initial recruits to the Indian Forest Service were appointed as Assistant Conservators of Forests and worked their way up through promotion, normally based on seniority and merit. Ordinarily, an Assistant Conservator was promoted to the charge of a Division after a period of nine years of service, it took about 20 years to hold the charge of Conservator, and about 24 years to reach the post of Chief Conservator; and finally it took about 4 additional years for one to be promoted to the apex of the service, the post of Inspector-General of Forests.

THE UNION PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION

The origin of the Public Service Commission, as a recruiting agency, can be traced back to a proposal advanced in 1833 by Thomas B. Macaulay for a scheme of competition for writerships in the East India Company. Under this scheme, four candidates were to be recommended against every vacancy, and the selection was to be made by a written examination in order to ensure high scholastic ability. This proposal did not take concrete shape until 1853, when the Directors of the East India Company lost their patronage, and recruitment by competitive examination was thrown open. The first examination, under the Board of Control, was held in 1855; and with the assumption of direct rule of India by the Crown in 1858, the responsibility for administering the examination was transferred to the British Civil Service Commissioners, who had been appointed in 1855. Such recruitment by open competitive methods was conducted by the British Civil Service Commissioners until 1943, except during and immediately after the First World War. The British Civil Service Commissioners held the I.C.S. examination in India for the first time, in 1922, at Allahabad.

Meanwhile, the First Despatch on the Indian Constitutional Reforms of March 5, 1919 pointed out how "In most of the dominions, wherever responsible Government has been established, the need has been felt of protecting the Public Services from political influence by the establishment of some permanent office particularly charged with the regulation of service matters." The Despatch added "that the prospect that the services may come more and more under ministerial control affords strong grounds for instituting such a body". This concept of a Public Service Commission intended to be charged primarily with the regulation of service matters, found a practical shape in the Government of India Act, 1919. Nearly five years later, the Royal Commission on the Superior Services, 1924 under Lord Lee, laid special stress on the necessity for constituting a Public Service Commission. However, it was not till October 1926 that a Public Service Commission came into being. Its functions were limited to the All-India and higher Central Services. It was also charged with the responsibility of advising the Governor-General in regard to disciplinary cases affecting the

civil servants and other connected questions relating to working conditions, pay, etc. Later, it became the redruiting agency for the ministerial (clerical) services also which was previously attended to by the Staff Selection Board of the Central Secretariat.

The Public Service Commission came to be called Federal Public Service Commission with the enactment of the Government of India Act, 1935. Its functions were enlarged to include recruitment to all federal public services for which examinations were held, and advising the Government on methods of recruitment, the principles of appointments, promotions, and transfers, disciplinary matters, claims for injury pension; and any other matter which the Governor-General might refer to it. The Governor-General, however, had the authority to exclude any of the above matters from the Commission's purview. Among the cases referred to the Commission were cases of domicile, seniority and extension of service beyond the age of superannuation.

Composition of the Commission

The constitution of the Union Public Service Commission is broadly modelled on the pattern set down by the Government of India Act, 1935, for the Federal Public Service Commission. Thus, Article 315 of the Indian Constitution establishes a Union Public Service Commission and a Commission for each State (two or more States may have a joint Commission). The Chairman and Members of the Union Public Service Commission are appointed by the President; half of them have been persons with at least ten years' experience of the public service as enjoined by the Constitution; the rest have been men of standing in other spheres, e.g., university professors, engineers, etc.

The President determines the number of Members and their conditions of service. But the conditions of service of a Member must not be varied to his disadvantage after his appointment.

Independence of the Commission

Elaborate constitutional safeguards have been provided to secure the independence and impartiality of the Members of the Union Public Service Commission in the exercise of their duties. They hold office for six years or until the age of 65 whichever is earlier and cannot be reappointed. On ceasing to hold office, the Chairman of the Union Public Service Commission is not

eligible for further employment under the Government of India or the Government of a State. But a Member of the Union Commission may be made the Chairman of the Union Commission or of a State Commission. The Chairman or a Member can be removed from office only by the President, and for misbehaviour only after the Supreme Court has so decided; but he can be removed, without reference to the Supreme Court, for insolvency, taking paid employment while in office, or infirmity of mind or body.

It may be worthwhile to note that important matters, such as, the tenure of Members and the manner in which they might be dismissed were not determined by the Government of India Act, 1935. Members other than the Chairman were eligible for re-employment in Government service after retirement with the approval of the Governor-General. Explaining the reasons for the incorporation of a provision in the Constitution of India placing a ban on re-employment and on further employment of the Members in the Commission in the public service, Dr. Ambedkar told the Constituent Assembly on August 22, 1949: "I think that is a very salutary provision, because any hope that might be held out for reappointment, or continuation in the same appointment, may act as a sort of temptation which induces the Member not to act with the same impartiality that he is expected to act in discharging his duties. Therefore, that is a fundamental bar which has been provided in the draft article."

Moreover, the respective powers and functions, as laid down, cannot be altered except by amending the Constitution itself. While parliamentary questions on its work are duly answered (e.g., on facts), the Minister concerned is scrupulous to say that he replies by the courtesy of the Commission.

Functions

The provisions of Article 320 of the Indian Constitution relating to the functions of the Union Public Service Commission are more or less a reproduction of those of Section 266 of the Government of India Act, 1935. But the provision regarding the way in which certain matters can be excluded from the Commission's purview, appearing in clause (3) of Article 320, is different from its corresponding provision under the Government of India Act, 1935. Under the Indian Constitution

all regulations made by the President relating to the exclusion of matters from the purview of the Commission are to be laid for not less than 14 days, before each House of Parliament, as soon as possible after they are made, and are subject to modifications by Parliament. The Government of India Act, 1935, on the other hand, empowered the Secretary of State and the Governor-General, in their unfettered discretion, to exclude any matters within their respective spheres from the purview of the Federal Commission.

The functions of the Union Public Service Commission specified in Article 320 may be grouped under two heads: (a) executive, and (b) advisory.

(a) *Executive* : It is the constitutional duty of the Union Public Service Commission to conduct examinations for appointments to the services of the Union and to assist any two or more States in framing and operating a scheme of joint recruitment of any services.² The Commission as a recruiting agency is governed by Article 16 which provides for equality of opportunity for all citizens in matters relating to employment or appointment to any office under the State, subject to any reservation of appointments or posts in favour of any backward class of citizens which is not adequately represented in the services under the State. The Commission is, therefore, bound to advertise vacancies all over India (such vacancies as are intimated by the Government) and to select suitable candidates through a competitive examination or an interview, held in Delhi or elsewhere. It establishes the order of merit of candidates.

Before 1946, three names, highest in order of merit, were sent to departments for each vacancy to be filled. Under an executive order issued in that year, the 'rule of one' has since been adhered to. In other words, the Commission has been communicating to departments only as many names of suitable candidates as there are posts to be filled. The Commission, however, keeps two or three names in reserve in case the candidate selected is subsequently found unfit or is unable to join the appointment for any other reason.

(b) *Advisory* : The functions in the second group are of an advisory nature. They may be subdivided into two categories: Those in which consultation with the Union Public Service

2. Article 320 of the Constitution of India.

Commission is obligatory and the Union Public Service Commission has to give advice; and those in which the Union Public Service Commission's advice may be or may not be sought. Thus the Constitution specifies that the Commission shall be consulted (a) on all matters relating to methods of recruitment to civil services and for civil posts; (b) on the principles to be followed in making appointments to civil services and posts and in making promotions and transfers from one service to another and on the suitability of candidates for such appointments, promotions, or transfers; (c) on all disciplinary matters affecting a person serving under the Government of India in a civil capacity, including memorials or petitions relating to such matters; (d) on any claim, made by or in respect of a person who is serving or has served under the Government of India in a civil capacity, for payment, from the Consolidated Fund of India, of any costs incurred by him in defending legal proceedings instituted against him in respect of acts done or purporting to be done in the execution of his duty; and (e) on any claim for the award of a pension in respect of injuries sustained by a person while serving under the Government of India in a civil capacity, and any question as to the amount of any such award.

As respects the All-India Services and also other services and posts in connection with the affairs of the Union, the President may, however, make regulations specifying the matters in which either generally, or in any particular class of cases or in any particular circumstances, it shall not be necessary for the Commission to be consulted. The consultation regulations framed under Section 266 of the Act of 1935 were in force by virtue of the provisions of clause (1) of Article 372 of the Indian Constitution till 1958 when they were replaced by the existing regulations.

These regulations indicate the matters in respect of which it is not necessary to consult the Commission. In all such cases in which consultation with the Commission is not obligatory, no reference to the Commission is made by any authority without first obtaining the concurrence of (i) the Ministry of Home Affairs both in regard to the fact of consultation and the terms in which such consultation should be made, and (ii) the Ministry of Finance in cases involving financial considerations.

Procedure of Consulting the Commission

All references in cases where it is obligatory to obtain the Commission's advice are to be made direct to the Commission by the administrative Ministry concerned in the form of an official letter along with all relevant papers. For example, under an executive order issued in 1946, Ministries were required till 1954 to consult the Commission in cases in which it was proposed to grant an extension of service beyond the date of superannuation for a period exceeding six months to an officer of Class I or Class II Central Service. The origin of this order and its withdrawal by Government have been discussed elsewhere.

On receipt of a reference, the Commission may either ask for the observations of the Ministry on particular questions in writing, or may invite the Ministry concerned for a face to face discussion. The Commission has the right to call for any information that may be required in discharge of its functions.

When the Ministry concerned receives the recommendations of the Commission, it arrives at its own conclusions as to the order which should be issued. Before the issue of such orders in cases where any general principle arises with which the Ministry of Home Affairs or any other Ministry is concerned, the Ministry of Home Affairs has to be consulted. The Commission is informed by the Ministry concerned of the action taken on its recommendations in all cases.

* * *

Before 1947, the Commission advised the Governor-General in matters in which he could act in his discretion. With the attainment of Independence, the Governor-General became a Constitutional Head of the State, with no discretion to act outside the Cabinet's advice. The question, therefore, arose of underwriting the independence of the Public Service Commission; and the Government decided to make rejection of the Commission's advice as difficult as possible. In August 1949, a decision was taken that where the Federal Public Service Commission was consulted in regard to any appointments, the recommendations made by the Commission should normally be accepted. If in the opinion of the Minister concerned, however, exceptional circumstances exist, the Commission's

advice may not be adhered to. In such a case, the reasons for the rejection of the advice should be communicated to the Commission, so that, the Commission may have an opportunity of further justifying its views. If the reasons do not appear to the Commission to be convincing enough for it to change its mind, and if the Ministry concerned considers that the recommendations made by the Commission should not be accepted, the case should be referred with a self-contained summary to the Ministry of Home Affairs which will place it before the appropriate committee of the Cabinet and the case will be disposed of in accordance with the decisions of that committee. Although the Constitution does not require such cases to be referred to a Cabinet committee, this practice, begun in 1949, has been continued.

Annual Report of the Commission

This protection has been strengthened by the Constitutional provisions which enjoin upon Government to submit to Parliament a memorandum along with the Annual Report of the Union Public Service Commission presented to the President, explaining the reasons for Government's departure from the Commission's advice. Commenting on this provision, a member of the Constituent Assembly said: "...it is very necessary that Parliament should know as to how the Public Service Commission is functioning, whether there has been any interference by the Government". Indeed, the Commission's final safeguard is in Article 323, which requires it to issue an annual report, revealing to Parliament and the country the cases in which Government has chosen to depart from its advice. It is this Article that has given the Union Public Service Commission an indirect check upon the Executive through the devices of publicity and parliamentary discussion.

Limitations of the Commission

Although it is difficult to assess the extent of the impact of this provision of the Constitution on the Commission's relations with Government, the number of cases in which Government has, in the past, finally rejected the Commission's advice is very small, e.g., during 1959-60 of the 1,500 cases in which the Commission's advice was sought, only in one case the

Government decided not to accept it. While the small number of the cases of non-acceptance—17 between 1950-1961—does not reduce the value of seeking the Commission's advice, one may point out the ways of side-stepping it, or avoiding it, without collision. Thus, the proviso to Clause (3) of Article 320 of the Constitution authorises the President to exclude general matters, or cases, or classes of cases, in which the Commission need not be consulted. For instance, Regulation 2 of the Union Public Service Commission (Exemption from Consultation) Regulations, 1958, (made under the above proviso), reads: "save as otherwise expressly provided in the rules governing recruitment to the civil service or civil post concerned it shall not be necessary to consult the Commission in regard to the selection for appointment: (a) to a post included in an All-India Service, of any officer who is already a member of an All-India Service ...". But such an exclusion cannot be freely made in view of the check provided by the Constitution itself, i.e., all regulations made in this behalf are required to be laid before Parliament for not less than 14 days; Parliament is competent to make modifications by way of repeal or amendment.

Besides, all cases in which the Government rejects or tries to side-step or evade the Commission's advice would be mentioned within the Commission's Annual Report and the Department concerned would be exposed to criticism in Parliament and elsewhere. For instance, the Eleventh Report, 1960-1961, of the Union Public Service Commission mentions five cases of irregularities in appointment. These were cases, the Commission observes, "where consultation with the Commission has been inordinately delayed or where appointments have been made irregularly *ab initio*".

No one can deny that the great political changes of 1947, the constitutional safeguards provided since 1950, the frequent motions made in the Houses of Parliament for consideration of the Reports of the Commission and the full assertion of the Commission in regard to its real statutory position, all have been contributory factors in attaining its existing high status. Indeed, the high traditions built up in the first decade of the Commission and the way in which it has been punctilious in maintaining them are exemplary for its counterparts in the States.

Organisation of the Office of the Commission

The relations of the Commission with the different departments of the Government of India are co-ordinated by the Ministry of Home Affairs. In its day-to-day work, however, it deals directly with the different Ministries and Departments of the Central Government. Unlike any department of the Government of India, the Commission acts as an employing authority in relation to its staff. Thus, all appointments in the office of the Commission are to be formally made by the Commission itself.

PART ONE

CONSULTATION WITH THE UNION PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION

(I) THE INITIAL PROPOSALS FOR EXTENSION

The Origin

THIS CASE dates back to April 8, 1952. The Joint Secretary, Establishment (Agriculture Division), Ministry of Food and Agriculture, was glancing through the roster of officers due to retire in near future. He noticed that the Inspector-General of Forests was due to reach his age of superannuation on December 8 of the year. The Inspector-General of Forests was known in the Ministry as one of the ablest Inspector-General of Forests the Ministry ever had since 1864 when the post of Inspector-General was created. In his note submitted to the Secretary, the Joint Secretary raised the question:

Whether the incumbent of the post of Inspector-General of Forests, who was due for superannuation on December 8, 1952, should be recommended to the Union Public Service Commission and the Ministry of Home Affairs for the extension of his service, or, whether steps should be taken to recruit his successor.

The Inspector-General of Forests, who had been an officer of the Indian Forest Service for about thirty years, was first appointed to officiate in that capacity in the Ministry of Food and Agriculture on June 21, 1949 (when the then incumbent of the post of Inspector-General of Forests was granted leave preparatory to retirement), and was confirmed in the appointment from March 7, 1950, on the retirement of his predecessor. Prior to his appointment in the Ministry of Food and Agriculture, he had been borne on the Uttar Pradesh cadre of the service. The Joint Secretary knew that he had held various positions of responsibility, and that he had had a very brilliant academic and service record, the details of which were as follows:

*Particulars of Qualifications and Details of Service
of the Incumbent of the Post of Inspector-General of
Forests*

- I. Qualifications:
1. Diploma in Forestry (Oxford) with distinction in B.Sc. (Oxon.).
 2. Currie Scholar of his year, having topped the list.
 3. Special research work at Oxford University for one year.

II. Details of Service:

Date of appointment to the Indian

Forest Service (U.P. Cadre): December 28, 1922.

(a) Posts Held in the I.F.S.

1. Assistant Conservator: for about 4 years.
2. Deputy Conservator: for about 20 years.
3. Conservator of Forests: for about 2 years.
4. Chief Conservator of Forests: for about 1½ years.
5. Inspector-General of Forests: for about 3 years.

(b) Positions Occupied in the U.P. Forest Department:

1. Silviculturist.
2. Working Plan Officer.
3. Divisional Forest Officer.
4. Forest Development Officer.
5. Conservator of Working Plans Circle, Western Circle, and founded the Land Management Circle.
6. Rural Development Officer, for about 2½ years.

(c) Research Publications:

He had several publications to his credit. His thesis submitted at Oxford University was published by the Clarendon Press, Oxford. His book on 'Land Management in U.P.' had attracted considerable attention. His other publications, bulletins, articles, etc. would number about 50. He had written special reports on Orissa, Punjab, Assam and Andamans. The first three were already printed; the fourth one was in press when the question of the extension of his service was taken up.

The incumbent of the post of Inspector-General of Forests was the first Indian to occupy that post. He belonged to the

first batch of officers recruited through a competitive examination to the Indian Forest Service in 1920 in accordance with the Montford scheme which sought to Indianise the services.

The Inspector-General of Forests

The post of Inspector-General of Forests is Gazetted and is in General Central Service Class I. Since it was classified under the 'Recruitment Rules for the post of Inspector-General of Forests' as non-ministerial for pension purposes, the incumbent was required to retire on December 8, 1952 when he was to attain the age of 55. Under the 'Fundamental Rules' he could be retained in service after the date of compulsory retirement on grounds of public interest. The reasons for his retention were required to be recorded in writing. The prescribed scale of pay of the post was Rs. 2,000-125-2,250, but as the incumbent was an officer of the Indian Forest Service, he was entitled to a fixed pay of Rs. 3,250. In status, emoluments and responsibility, the post of Inspector-General of Forests was the highest appointment open to members of the former Indian Forest Service or the new State Forest Services (started after the recruitment to the I.F.S. was stopped). There was no fixed tenure attached to the post and the appointment was ordinarily made by selection from amongst the senior officers in the Forest Departments at the Centre and in the States. The officers, according to a long established precedent, should have had at least three years left for superannuation. Selection for this post had all along been made by the Ministry of Food and Agriculture, on the recommendation of a Selection Committee and not through the Union Public Service Commission, although there was no bar to seeking, in consultation with the Ministry of Home Affairs, the assistance of the Commission in filling the post.¹

Concurrence of the Union Public Service Commission for Extension of Service

However, the concurrence of the Union Public Service Commission in granting extension of service to the incumbent of the post of Inspector-General of Forests, after the date of

1. The present Inspector-General of Forests was selected in consultation with the U.P.S.C. unlike the Inspector-General of forests whose extension of service is now under study.

superannuation, was required under an executive order issued in 1946 by the then Government of India "extending the functions of the Federal Public Service Commission". The order "provided, *inter alia*, that where Government proposed to grant an extension of service (to an officer of Central Services Class I and Class II), the Commission should be consulted except where the period of extension was not to exceed six months".

Consultation with the Commission was normally undertaken well in advance of the date on which the officer concerned became due to retire. For, as a memorandum of instructions issued by the Ministry of Home Affairs in 1949 stated, if a reference to the Commission was made when the proposed extension had already commenced, it would defeat the very object underlying consultation with the Commission. The main idea in issuing these instructions was later summed up by Government as follows:

"If an officer, who is due to superannuate or retire from a post, is given an extension of service therein, there is, undoubtedly, an adverse effect on the interests of other officers who might legitimately expect to be promoted in that vacancy. The executive order appears to have been based on the consideration that it was desirable to consult an independent authority, like the Commission, before Government took a decision in the public interest which had the effect of overriding the interests of serving officers."

* * *

Also, the sanction of the Ministry of Home Affairs was required, since 1948, in respect of all cases of retention in service beyond the age of superannuation (i.e., both extensions of service and re-employment of persons who had attained the age of superannuation).^a

Area of Selection

The Joint Secretary (Establishment), Ministry of Food and

2. Under the changed arrangement the types of cases that need approval of the Ministry of Home Affairs are defined. Thus, if extension or re-employment is to be given to a member of a service controlled by the Ministry of Home Affairs, the proposal is required to be referred to that Ministry. In cases of original appointment to certain types of posts the approval of the appropriate committee of the Cabinet is also necessary.

Agriculture, summed up the practice as regards the selection for the post of Inspector-General of Forests and the position when an incumbent would retire as follows:

Ever since its inception in 1864, the post of Inspector-General of Forests had been reserved for the officers of the Indian Forest Service who should have been Chief Conservator of Forests—sometimes senior Conservators of outstanding merit have also been considered—with high administrative experience, expert technical knowledge and professional eminence, and with at least three years to go. The three-year rule was scrupulously adhered to, with only occasional exceptions of short officiating appointments.³ The rule recognises the fact that an officer appointed as Inspector-General of Forests should hold the post for at least three years, so that, he might get enough time to plan his work and be of effective service to Government in discharging the responsibilities of the post. On the previous occasion, when the incumbent was appointed, officers who had less than three years' service were not considered for the appointment at all.

The Joint Secretary called for the service particulars of the officers eligible for promotion. These revealed that there were 52 members of the Indian Forest Service who could be considered for selection to the post. Further, those who were holding the post of the Chief Conservator were in the age group which would have less than three years' service left on the date of the incumbent's retirement. And those who would have three years or more of service to go, on December 8, 1952, would not be holding the post of Chief Conservator of Forests. The Joint Secretary considered that unless a person had administrative experience as the Head of the Department of Forests in his own State, it would not be desirable to appoint him as Inspector-General of Forests at the Centre. A Junior Conservator appointed to this important post, the Joint Secretary thought, was not likely to command either the respect or the allegiance of the

3. This long-established convention was further strengthened by the ruling given in 1935 by the Secretary of State for India that there were objections on general grounds to the promotion of a Provincial Service officer to an All-India Service on the eve of his retirement when no administrative advantage or benefit was to be gained.

existing senior Chief Conservators who were on the verge of retirement. Nor was he likely to make his presence felt in international conferences, specially, when the World Forests Conference was to take place soon in India (at Dehra Dun).

Decision Not to Recruit the Successor

In the light of the above-mentioned difficulties in recruiting a successor to the incumbent of the post of Inspector-General of Forests, the Joint Secretary examined the alternative solution—the re-employment of the incumbent. In view of the dearth of trained forest officers, the Ministry of Food and Agriculture was carrying on with a number of re-employed superannuated officers. If one more officer was to retire, it would only be increasing the number of such reappointed officers. There had been precedents in the past when the Inspector-General of Forests had been given extension. The Joint Secretary, therefore, came to the conclusion that the Ministry should approach the Union Public Service Commission for its concurrence, and the Ministry of Home Affairs for its sanction of extension of the service of the incumbent beyond the date of superannuation. As regards the Ministry of Home Affairs, the past experience showed that it was generally inclined to agree to grant of extension of service to scientific personnel, although it would consider individual cases on merits. The Joint Secretary had every hope that the Commission would also concur, specially, when several of the new schemes initiated by the incumbent were awaiting completion and when the field of choice of his successor did not include a person who had had any experience as Chief Conservator of Forests. At the same time, he agreed that it was essential to safeguard the interest of those members of the Indian Forest Service who would have three years or more of service left on December 8, 1952, so that their claims for promotion to the post of Inspector-General of Forests might not go by default on account of their not being within the requisite age group at the time of the completion of the extended period of the incumbent's tenure. He thought that the situation arising out of the total ban on recruitment to the Indian Forest Service during the years 1932 to 1940 necessitated further the retention of all suitable senior officers in the posts which they were occupying for a longer period, perhaps, by a grant of extension to them.

Ministry of Food and Agriculture Approaches the U.P.S.C.

In an official letter, drafted on the above lines, dated May 10/12, 1952, addressed to the Secretary, Union Public Service Commission, and an Office Memorandum addressed to the Joint Secretary (Est.), Ministry of Home Affairs, the Joint Secretary (Land Reclamation), Ministry of Food and Agriculture, Agriculture Division (now Department of Agriculture), requested, on behalf of his Ministry, for the sanction of the Ministry of Home Affairs and the concurrence of the U.P.S.C. to the grant of extension for a period of two years to the incumbent of the post of the Inspector-General of Forests. After explaining the practice in regard to the basis of selection to the post, he put forward the case for extension as follows:

(i) When the incumbent of the post of Inspector-General of Forests would retire, none of the members of the Indian Forest Service would be having the requisite service qualifications for promotion to the post of Inspector-General of Forests. It was not this consideration alone which necessitated the extension of the officer's services beyond the date of superannuation. Even more important was the need to secure continuity of direction in some of the schemes which he had initiated, the important among which were:

1. Pilot plant for Paper Branch, foundation-stone for which had recently been laid and machinery for which had arrived.
2. Selection of a party for newsprint manufacture in the country, for which the incumbent had initiated the survey of resources and for which at his instance a party of F.A.O. experts had been invited.
3. Proposals framed for the setting up of a new Soil Conservation Branch to be seen through the Planning Commission.
4. Desert control measures to be adopted in accordance with the proposals of the *ad hoc* Committee of which the incumbent was the Chairman.
5. Scheme for the formation of a Central Forest Service which had gone through its early stages.
6. Implementation of the scheme of match-wood plantations recently initiated by the incumbent.
7. The Central Board of Wild Life of which the

incumbent was the Vice-Chairman and which required careful nursing in its early stages.

8. The incumbent had been successful in getting the Forest Research Institute recognised as an international Institute by the F.A.O., and had negotiated equipment worth 30,000 dollars for the same. He had also negotiated equipment worth 47,000 dollars through the Technical Co-operation Administration (now called Agency for International Development) of the U.S. Government.
9. Implementation of the new Forest Policy at present under consideration of the Government.
10. Implementation of the new lease of North Andaman Forests; and consideration of a similar lease for Nicobars, to which an expedition had been sent at the instance of the Inspector-General of Forests.

All these schemes were just getting under way and it was considered that it would not be desirable to let the officer go at this juncture, specially when the field of choice of his successor was limited to junior conservators without any experience as departmental heads in their States.

(ii) Although the officer would attain the age of 55 years in December 1952, he was in excellent health and could reasonably be expected to serve the Government with vigour and enthusiasm for a couple of years.

(iii) This was not the first occasion when the Inspector-General of Forests was being recommended extension after the date of his retirement. Several of the incumbent's predecessors were granted such extension, the latest example being that of the immediate predecessor of the incumbent's predecessor who was given two years' extension after completing three years' service.

(iv) The wholesale departure of senior British personnel due to constitutional changes, consequent to the attainment of Independence, had depleted forest cadres throughout the country. All recruitment to the Indian Forest Service had ceased in 1932. It was not until 1940 that the new State Forest Service recruits came out to join their posts. This gap of eight years was difficult to bridge and the Ministry of Food and Agriculture was confronted with the prospect of officers with 10 or 11 years of service holding high administrative posts. The situation

demanding that the experience the Ministry had in its senior officers should not be permitted to be lost by superannuation. As a matter of fact, the Ministry of Home Affairs had already recognised the desirability of retaining technical officers beyond the age of superannuation in its Memoranda issued in 1948, 1949 and 1950.⁴

In view of the foregoing considerations, it would, it was pointed out, be in the public interest to retain the incumbent of the post of Inspector-General of Forests in service in his appointment by granting him two years of extension with effect from December 9, 1952, instead of re-employing him after retirement.

Extension vs. Re-employment

When the Joint Secretary recommended extension of the service of the officer after the date of retirement, he believed that the Ministry would be benefited more through extension than through re-employment. When an officer is granted extension after the date of superannuation, he continues to be a member of the service enjoying almost all the benefits to which any other member is entitled. In other words, extension implies the postponement of superannuation of the officer. On the other hand, re-employment of an officer after superannuation is tantamount to his fresh employment or recruitment—and for determining the suitability of the candidate for re-employment for more than one year, the U.P.S.C. has to be consulted. The officer can be either re-employed in the same post or can be employed as Officer in Special Duty.

The Ministry Writes to the Ministry of Home Affairs

In the letter to the Ministry of Home Affairs, it was also stated that the concurrence of the Union Public Service Commission in the proposal was being sought. The Ministry of Home Affairs was likewise requested to approve of the proposed extension of the services of the officer. Commenting on the proposal,

4. In view of the continued shortage of scientific and technical personnel in 1961 Government issued orders which in effect required that all scientific and technical officers should be retained in service up to the age of 58 and only those whose services do not warrant an extension should be asked to go at the age of 55. More recently, the Government of India decided to raise the age of retirement of its employees from 55 to 58 years.

the Under Secretary (Est.), Ministry of Home Affairs. remarked in his note submitted to the Deputy Secretary that there was really an accepted shortage of Forest Officers. He pointed out how they had earlier received a proposal from the Inspector-General of Forests himself, suggesting that the age of superannuation might be raised for forest officers. This had not been accepted by the Ministry of Home Affairs; the Inspector-General of Forests had, however, been told that the Ministry of Home Affairs would consider proposals for retention in service beyond the age of superannuation in a given post if no suitable replacement with the required experience was available. The Under Secretary added that while the Ministry of Food and Agriculture had asked for grant of extension of service and not re-employment, it had not stated any reasons for preferring extension of service to re-employment. He suggested, however, that the U.P.S.C.'s concurrence might be awaited. This suggestion was approved by the Deputy Secretary; and, therefore, no reply was sent to the Ministry of Food and Agriculture.

Refusal by the U.P.S.C. to Concur in the Proposal

The proposal was examined in the U.P.S.C. by the Under Secretary (Services), who submitted his findings to the Chairman. Since the proposal of extension of the service of the Inspector-General of Forests involved the exercise of discretion on an important issue, the Chairman of the Commission took the responsibility of preparing the final draft of the letter to the Ministry.

The Secretary of the Commission communicated to the Secretary, Ministry of Food and Agriculture, in a letter dated May 25/28, 1952, the Commission's comments on the Ministry's proposal. The Commission did not consider the argument that the incumbent had initiated a number of schemes, which it was desirable that he should implement, to be a valid ground for the grant of extension. It felt that any senior officer who might be selected to replace the existing officer should have the capacity to ensure the successful implementation of the schemes already initiated by his preceding officer. If initiation of schemes, which was a normal part of the duties of superior officers, was used as an argument for their retention in service beyond the date of superannuation, the Commission was afraid

that not a few officers would be able to avoid or defer superannuation on this plea.

As regards the argument that an officer appointed to the post of Inspector-General of Forests should have three or more years of service left, it was not clear to the Commission why the three-year-to-go rule should be insisted upon. So far as the Commission was aware, such a criterion for selection was never applied in the case of appointments to senior administrative posts in the Indian Forest Service. The Commission did not consider, therefore, that the three-year rule was an absolute necessity either from the statutory or the administrative point of view. As regards restricting the selection to officers who had held the post of Chief Conservator of Forests, the Commission pointed out that not all States had the post of Chief Conservator of Forests. Moreover, appointments to such posts would depend, in a large measure, on the occurrence of vacancies in the States. The Commission, accordingly thought that it would not be correct to restrict the selection to officers who fulfilled the criteria prescribed by the Ministry.

The Union Public Service Commission Favours the Selection of a Successor

In view of the foregoing considerations, the Commission suggested that the selection of a successor to the officer should be made from among the senior officers of the Indian Forest Service. Further, it requested the Ministry to send confidential records of senior and suitable Indian Forest Service officers, as early as possible, even if they had less than three years of service left, so that, the Commission might select a suitable successor.

(II) THE SECOND REFERENCE TO THE UNION PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION

The Ministry Studies the Reply of the U.P.S.C.

On receipt of reply to his letter, the Joint Secretary (Land Reclamation) transmitted it to the Joint Secretary (Establishment) for his comments. The Joint Secretary (Est.) considered that two points were raised in the Commission's letter: (i) refusal to the proposed extension to the officer; and (ii) the selection of his successor. The latter followed the former. His immediate

reaction to the reply was that the Commission did not apparently appreciate the fact that a wide gap had been created in the I.F.S. cadre on account of ban on the recruitment of officers during 1932-40. As a result, a situation had arisen in which comparatively junior officers would be holding senior posts and would remain in those posts for a very long period. The Joint Secretary (Est.) thought that the situation could be rectified by granting extensions to senior men so that junior officers might get more experience before they were appointed to senior positions.

As regards the question of appointing a successor to the incumbent, which the Commission had raised, the Joint Secretary (Est.) felt that the Commission could not claim to be consulted if the selection was to be made from among the members of the Indian Forest Service. For consultation with the Union Public Service Commission in such cases was not obligatory under the rules.⁵

The Secretary who broadly approved of the above comments by the Joint Secretary (Est.), wished to confine the case to the 'principle' that owing to depletion of the cadre the Ministry did not want scientific officers to retire at 55. He also directed that the reply should, *inter alia*, contain: (i) a fuller explanation of the 'principle' by indicating what would happen if it were accepted or rejected; and (ii) that consultation with the U.P.S.C. was not necessary if the selection of the successor was to be made from among the members of the I.F.S.—an All-India Service.

Meanwhile, the Secretary discussed the case with the Deputy Inspector-General of Forests and asked for a factual appraisal of the position.⁶ The Deputy Inspector-General of Forests analysed the implications of the principles enunciated by the U.P.S.C. as follows:

(1) Ever since the inception of the post of Inspector-General of Forests in 1864, the three-year rule was rigidly applied with only occasional exceptions of short officiating appointments. This was so because no Inspector-General of Forests was found who could function effectively without a tenure of at least three years.

5. Under the U.P.S.C. Consultation Regulations, the President had exempted consultation with the U.P.S.C. in regard to the selection of a member of an All-India Service for a post classified under Class I.

6. The Deputy Inspector-General of Forests was a member of the I.F.S. and had a little more than six years to go on December 8, 1952.

Matters at the Government of India level involved protracted correspondence with the States, and not infrequently, took as long as two to three years to reach a generally acceptable decision. Thus, the declaration of the Forest Policy had taken over two years to go through all the stages, to quote one example at random; the North Andamans contract took about the same time, to quote another.

(2) At the time of initial selection, when the incumbent was appointed, as in all previous selections, officers with less than three years of service to go, were not even called for interview. The then Chief Conservator of Forests of Madhya Pradesh, apart from being the Chief Conservator of a major State, had the added qualification of having officiated for six months as Inspector-General of Forests but even he was not considered for the post, because he had less than three years to go. It would be most unfair, the Deputy Inspector-General of Forests argued, to officers like the then Chief Conservator of Forests of Madhya Pradesh and a host of others before him, if the rule was now broken.

(3) If the hoary tradition (the three-year rule) built over a period of 88 years was set aside, the appointment of an Inspector-General of Forests would become almost an annual affair. For, once the principle of careful selection was given up, the claims of an officer, who reached the top of the ladder in his State with usually a brilliant record behind, could not be disregarded. If this three-year limit was relaxed, the Ministry would have four Inspectors-General of Forests in the next few years. Thus, the Government of India would be continuously engaged in selecting an Inspector-General of Forests, while the person so selected would hardly occupy the chair before he would be asked to vacate it as the seniority list of the I.F.S. officers, indicated. Such a state of affairs could by no means be conducive to progress.

(4) The objections, if any, which applied to a three-year limit, would just as well apply to a lower limit. If a line was to be drawn at all, it would be an advantage to stick to the line sanctified by a period of 88 years of uninterrupted observance. In this connection the Deputy Inspector-General of Forests referred to the list of all the I.F.S. officers in order of seniority who would still be in service on December 9, 1952 (vide table at pp.67-68). Col. 4 of the list, giving the balance of service on

December 9, 1952, indicated that the figures below 3.0 years dovetailed into each other. The Deputy Inspector-General of Forests considered that to draw a new line anywhere could immediately be interpreted to mean an invidious preference for a particular officer. The Ministry should not, therefore, break the three-year rule for a superficially plausible new date-line. He added that the Indian Forest Service officers already knew the date-line; hence, its disturbance might lead to protests and discontent.

GENERAL SENIORITY LIST OF ALL I.F.S. OFFICERS
(As on December 9, 1952)

<i>S. No.</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Present Appointment*</i>	<i>Balance Service on December 9, 1952</i>	<i>Length of Service as Conservator**</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
1.	A	C.F.	0.57	...	U.P.
2.	B	I.G.F.	Nil	...	U.P.
3.	C	C.C.F.	0.64	...	Punjab
4.	D	P.R.I.	1.67	...	Govt. of India
5.	E	C.C.F.	2.50	...	Himachal Pradesh
6.	F	C.C.F.	1.54	...	Madras
7.	G	C.C.F.	1.57	...	Madhya Pradesh
8.	H	C.C.F.	0.80	...	West Bengal
9.	I	D.C.F.	1.72	...	Superseded
10.	J	C.F.	2.21	...	Madhya Pradesh
11.	K	C.C.F.	1.09	...	U.P.
12.	L	C.F.	0.55	...	Orissa
13.	M	D.C.F.	1.45	...	Superseded
14.	N	C.C.F.	1.61	...	Bombay
15.	O	C.F.	3.08	4.32	Punjab
16.	P	C.F.	0.24	...	Punjab
17.	Q	C.F.	3.58	7.65	Transferred to Civil Supplies Dept., Bombay
18.	R	C.F.	2.83	...	Madras
19.	S	C.F.	2.32	...	Madras
20.	T	C.F.	1.41	...	Madras
21.	U	C.F.	2.01	...	Madras
22.	V	D.F.E.	2.69	...	Punjab
23.	W	C.F.	1.55	...	Madras
24.	X	D.C.F.	1.82	...	Superseded
25.	Y	C.F.	2.14	...	U.P.
26.	Z	C.G.	2.87	...	West Bengal
27.	A1	P.O.	4.00	3.11	Irrigation and Power Dept.
28.	B2	C.F.	2.18	...	U.P.

S. No.	Name	Present Appointment*	Balance Service on December 9, 1952	Length of Service as Conservator**	Remarks
29.	C3	C.F.	2.47	...	Madhya Pradesh
30.	D4	C.F.	3.77	4.89	West Bengal
31.	E5	C.F.	3.89	3.79	Superseded
32.	F6	D.C.F.	2.59	...	Superseded
33.	G7	C.F.	3.24	4.92	U.P.
34.	H8	C.F.	3.77	4.93	Madhya Pradesh
35.	I9	C.F.	4.53	2.93	Madras
36.	J10	D.C.F.	4.88	...	West Bengal
37.	K11	S.C.F.	5.22	5.07	Bihar, Head of the Dept.
38.	L12	C.F.	5.52	3.26	Madhya Pradesh
39.	M13	D.C.F.	3.75	...	Superseded
40.	N14	C.F.	4.76	2.96	Madhya Pradesh
41.	O15	Manager (Nepa Mills)	6.17	...	Loaned to Nepa Mills
42.	P16	C.F.	6.90	2.09	Madras
43.	Q17	D.I.G.	8.86	6.01	Govt. of India
44.	R18	C.S.	5.66	...	F.R.I.
45.	S19	C.F.	7.09	3.70	U.P.
46.	T20	D.C.F.	8.25	...	West Bengal
47.	U21	S.C.F.	8.14	6.36	Assam, Head of the Dept.
48.	V22	C.F.	9.41	4.83	Assam
49.	W23	D.C.F.	9.13	...	Assam
50.	X24	D.C.F.	9.30	...	Madras
51.	Y25	D.C.F.	9.10	...	Lac Cess Committee
52.	Z26	D.C.F.	9.78	...	Madras

* The abbreviations stand for the following:

- I.G.F. : Inspector-General of Forests.
- D.I.G. : Deputy Inspector-General of Forests.
- C.C.F. : Chief Conservator of Forests.
- S.C.F. : Senior Conservator of Forests.
- D.C.F. : Deputy Conservator of Forests.
- P.R.I. : President, (Forests) Research Institute.
- C.F. : Conservator of Forests.
- D.F.E. : Director of Forest Education.
- C.S., F.R.I. : Central Silviculturist, Forest Research Institute.
- P.O. : Project Officer (Irrigation and Power Department).
- C.G. : Conservator General.

** For only those with more than three years of service to go on December 9, 1952.

(5) Finally, the Deputy Inspector-General of Forests examined the Commission's thesis that it would not be correct to restrict the selection of Inspector-General of Forests to officers who held the post of a Chief Conservator of Forests, on the grounds that (a) not all States had such posts, and (b) appointments to such posts would depend, in a large measure, on the occurrence of vacancies in the States. In order to illustrate his point of view which was in consonance with that of the Commission, he gave the following details of the Service particulars of the last six Inspectors-General of Forests.

S. No.	Name	Length of Service as	Length of Service as	Length of Service as	Remarks
		Cons. of Forests (Years)	Ch. Cons. of Forests (Years)	I.G.F. (Years)	
1.	X			3.09	
2.	Y	6.67	2.95	4.07	
3.	Z	4.62	Nil	2.30	Transferred to Supply Department during War.
4.	A	6.94	0.07	4.96	Got an extension.
5.	B	3.59	4.23	—	Retired before superannuation.
6.	C	1.80	1.40	3.46	

The service particulars revealed that Mr. Z had never worked as Chief Conservator of Forests; and, in fact, he had superseded all the Chief Conservators of Forests of his time; Mr. A worked as Chief Conservator of Forests only for 0.07 year and he was not a senior Chief Conservator of Forests. Both the incumbent and Mr. B had been Chief Conservators of Forests for less than 1½ years. But all the six had been invariably Conservators for a long period though not necessarily in territorial circles. Hence, a long period of service as Conservator was an indispensable qualification. Except Mr. B, who became Inspector-General of Forests after 23 years of service, all others were appointed to the post after 26 years. All the 52 Indian Forest Service officers

(listed in table at pp. 67-68) had more than 20 years of service.⁷

The Deputy Inspector-General of Forests Advises the Ministry to Revise its Arguments

As regards the contention that there was an acute paucity of senior officers in the Indian Forest Service, the Deputy Inspector-General of Forests contended that it would not bear strict scrutiny. Thus, there were then eight officers (not superseded) with more than 20 years of service, who had not yet got a chance even to be considered for a Conservator's post, due to want of a vacancy. Owing to stoppage of recruitment between 1932 and 1940, there was, however, a genuine shortage of officers all over India with service ranging from 12 to 20 years. The States were meeting this difficulty by promoting Forest Rangers to Deputy Forest Conservator's rank. By the end of 1955, 28 I.F.S. officers were to retire, leaving 24 behind. It was then that the scarcity of senior officers would acutely be felt in some States, specially in the Punjab and Uttar Pradesh. In order that the Government might not be taken by surprise, the office of the Inspector-General of Forests had advised the Ministry of Home Affairs well in advance to grant extensions to forest officers liberally for Central and State assignments. It was as a part of this general policy that the case for grant of extension to the incumbent of the post of Inspector-General of Forests might be pursued, apart from his being a forest officer of outstanding ability.

The Ministry Prepares the Case on New Grounds

In the light of the above analysis, the Secretary, Ministry of Food and Agriculture, arrived at the following conclusions to be taken into account when a second reference would be made to the Union Public Service Commission:

1. The Ministry should not enter into a debate as to whether recruitment should be confined to Chief Conservators, as that point was arguable;
2. It was not necessary to argue with the Commission that the successor should have at least three years to go, though the Ministry strongly felt that he should; but the argument would become irrelevant if it was not
7. The Deputy Inspector-General was one of the 52 I.F.S. officers and he had never worked as Chief Conservator of Forests.

contended that recruitment should be confined to Chief Conservators: there were officers who were not Chief Conservators, who would thus be eligible for appointment as Inspector-General of Forests and had yet more than three years' service to put in.

3. The argument that initiation of special schemes made it desirable for the Ministry to retain the incumbent, might be dropped.
4. The case should be confined to the substantive argument that it was waste of national resources to let experienced officers engaged in semi-scientific work, go at the age of 55 when so much development of forestry was needed.
5. If the Union Public Service Commission still did not agree, steps should be taken to grant extension, turning down the advice of the Commission.

With these conclusions in view, the Secretary met the Minister of Food and Agriculture and sought his directions as to what further action should be taken in the circumstances. The Minister directed that it was unnecessary to refer the case again to the Union Public Service Commission. The Minister, however, thought that a reference to the Ministry of Home Affairs should be made.

Second Reference to the Ministry of Home Affairs

Meanwhile, the Under Secretary (Appointments), Ministry of Food and Agriculture, discussed the question of making a second reference with his counterpart in the Ministry of Home Affairs. While the latter thought that the matter might be referred to his Ministry again, in continuation of the previous reference, he suggested that the Ministry of Food and Agriculture should also apprise it of the Union Public Service Commission's reaction to the proposal of extension.

The Joint Secretary (L.R.), Ministry of Food and Agriculture, addressed an Office Memorandum dated August 19, 1952, to the Ministry of Home Affairs, urging that all suitable officers of the Indian Forest Service in semi-scientific work should be given extensions so that their accumulated knowledge and experience might not be lost, and that the proposal for the incumbent's extension was in consonance with the Ministry's general policy regarding Indian Forest Service

officers. The Ministry of Home Affairs, therefore, was requested to review the proposal in the light of the liberalised policy enunciated in the Ministry of Home Affairs' Memoranda regarding retention in service beyond the age of superannuation of scientists or technical personnel in Government service, referred to earlier.

The Ministry of Food and Agriculture further urged that the Inspector-General of Forests should be granted extension on the basis of the instructions contained in these Memoranda in view of the following considerations:

- (1) The Inspector-General of Forests fulfilled an important scientific role besides performing certain administrative functions. Some officers of the Indian Forest Service had earned the highest distinction in the scientific world by being elected as Fellows of the Royal Society. The then Director of the Forestry Institute at Oxford was a former Indian Forest Service officer. The Chair of Forestry at the University of Edinburgh was, likewise, filled for very long with great distinction by a retired forest officer from India. The fact that some Indian Forest Service officers in India obtained the D.Sc. Degree from British universities, on submitting theses pertaining to their normal duties, provided a measure of recognition of the scientific value of their work. In these circumstances, the incumbent's retention in service, in view of his proved ability and technical work, was definitely in the public interest.
- (2) There was general dearth of forest officers in some Part 'A' States and there was a further programme of organising a number of forest departments in Part 'B' and 'C' States⁸ for launching the schemes of the First

8. Before 1956, the constituent units of the Indian Union were of four types. *Part A* States, headed by Governors, were, generally speaking, the provinces that constituted the bulk of the former British India. *Part B* States, headed by Rajpramukhs, were one step below the *Part A* States in political progress and internal autonomy. They were under the general control of the Central Government and had to comply with its particular directions. *Part C* States were territories directly administered by the Centre on a unitary basis. Some of them were former Chief Commissioners' Provinces under the British rule. The Union Executive was responsible to Parliament for their administration. *Part D* category

Five Year Plan. The depletion in the cadre of the Indian Forest Service through the wholesale retirement of British personnel consequent to constitutional changes, and the unfortunate cessation of recruitment to the Service for a period of eight years in the 1930, had given rise to a general shortage of forest officers all over India, causing grave anxiety to the Central Government and State Governments. The Ministry of Food and Agriculture considered that temporary extensions given liberally to suitable superannuated officers would provide a workable administrative remedy to meet the shortage of forest officers. The extension proposed to be granted to the incumbent of the post of Inspector-General of Forests was, therefore, not an isolated proposal, but was in consonance with the general principle that the Ministry of Food and Agriculture wished to adopt in the case of Indian Forest Service officers till more officers were trained and were in positions.

The Ministry of Food and Agriculture concluded that the Ministry of Home Affairs might consider the proposal for extension favourably and also move the Commission to reconsider its views and agree to the proposed grant of extension of service to the incumbent of the post of Inspector-General of Forests. No reply was received from the Ministry of Home Affairs to the two office Memoranda communicated by the Joint Secretary, Ministry of Food and Agriculture, till the end of September.

Further Reference to the U.P.S.C.

Meanwhile, the Secretary appraised the Minister of Food and Agriculture of the procedure in cases where the Union Public Service Commission's advice was to be rejected. Under a ruling of the Ministry of Home Affairs in its Office Memorandum, dated August 20, 1949, it was laid down that when it was proposed to reject the advice of the Union Public Service Commission, the reasons for this exceptional course should be communicated to the Commission which should, thus, be given

comprised the territories of Andaman and Nicobar Islands under the direct and full control of the Central Government. Under the Constitution (Seventh Amendment) Act, 1956, the constituent units are now divided into two groups; the States and the Union Territories.

an opportunity of further justifying its recommendations.

The Minister, therefore, directed that a further reference should be made to the Union Public Service Commission. On August 28, 1952, the Secretary sent, in reply to the Union Public Service Commission's letter, dated May 26/28, 1952, a letter on lines similar to those followed in the communication addressed to the Ministry of Home Affairs. Besides, the reply explained why the Minister of Food and Agriculture found it difficult to accept the Commission's advice in the case. It was urged that it was recognised in the Home Ministry's Office Memorandum No. 60/314/48-Ests., dated June 27, 1949, that a special case existed for utilising the services of scientists beyond the age of superannuation. Again, in the case of scientific and technical personnel, the Cabinet had expressed the view that it would "be desirable to retain...their services, if their special experience so warrants", even after the normal age of retirement. In the end, it was emphasised that a reference to the Commission on the point of the selection of the Inspector-General of Forests was not required under Regulation 3(a) of the Union Public Service Commission (Consultation) Regulations.⁹ The Regulation stated that it was not necessary to consult the Union Public Service Commission where a selection was to be made to a post from among the serving officers in the cadre of an All-India Service (e.g., the Indian Forest Service).

The Home Ministry Awaits the Final Reply

The Ministry of Home Affairs, which had not sent replies to the Ministry of Food and Agriculture's Office Memoranda of May 12 and August 19, 1952 respectively, was reminded on September 22 (requesting for an early reply).

The Under Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs (Establishment), said on September 30, 1952 in reply that, before the proposal was considered, the Ministry would be glad to be informed whether the concurrence of the Union Public Service Commission had been obtained and, if so, a copy of the Commission's reply might be forwarded to it.

In reply, the Under Secretary (Appointments), Ministry of

9. Regulation 3 (a) In this respect, remains unaltered under the new Consultation Regulations now known as U.P.S.C. Consultation (Exemption) Regulations which came into effect in 1958.

Food and Agriculture, intimated the Ministry of Home Affairs that the Union Public Service Commission had been approached to reconsider its advice. A copy of the letter addressed to the Commission was also transmitted to the Ministry of Home Affairs.

U.P.S.C. Questions Applicability of the Memorandum

The Chairman of the Union Public Service Commission gave careful consideration to the proposal made by the Ministry of Food and Agriculture on the basis of the further arguments set out in the latter's letter dated August 28, 1952, and directed the Secretary of the Commission to communicate the Commission's comments as follows:

1. It was felt that the new argument in support of the proposal was not very clear. It was regretted that the Commission was unable to agree that the Home Ministry's Memorandum, dated June 27, 1949, applied to this proposal. Paragraph 2 of the Memorandum provided for the grant of extension, after superannuation, to 'scientists'. Apart from the fact that the term 'scientist' was to be interpreted strictly, it was laid down clearly in para 2 (ii) that as regards 'scientists' in Government service, Ministries could allow them to continue in service beyond the age of superannuation by retiring and re-employing them on special contracts for three years at a time. The Commission explained that the Memorandum was not intended to authorise the retention of a superannuated officer in a post which was "the highest open to existing members of a regularly organised service like the Indian Forest Service". The Commission further suggested that the question might be referred to the Ministry of Home Affairs with reference to para 2 of the Memorandum.
2. The Commission emphasised that there obviously were suitable officers of the Indian Forest Service who could reasonably look forward to holding this post as part of their service rights, and that the retention of superannuated officers would be to the prejudice of the morale and contentment of younger deserving officers. Thus, the extension of the service of the incumbent

that would cause discontent in the service would be detrimental to the public interest and would be contrary to the recognised canons of sound administration on which the Indian administrative system has been based.

The Union Public Service Commission

Proposes an Alternative

The Commission, however, made it clear that it "would have no objection to the retention of the services of the incumbent of the post of Inspector-General of Forests on re-employment as Officer on Special Duty, subject to his continuing to be physically and mentally fit. Such an arrangement is envisaged to be more appropriate in such cases in the very Office Memorandum of the Ministry of Home Affairs which the Government¹⁰ has invoked. In the opinion of the Commission, such a course, while enabling the Government to make use of the incumbent's service for completing the implementation of schemes initiated by him, would at the same time have safeguarded the rights of the existing members of the Indian Forest Service, in the matter of promotion to the post of Inspector-General of Forests."

10. The Ministry of Food and Agriculture.

PART TWO

THE NON-ACCEPTANCE OF THE U.P.S.C.'S ADVICE

THE MINISTRY OF FOOD AND AGRICULTURE PROPOSES RAISING AGE OF SUPERANNUATION

NO DECISION was taken in the Ministry either to act immediately on the advice of the Commission, or to consider at this stage an approach to the Ministry of Home Affairs to have action taken to reject the advice of the Commission on the individual merits of the officer. During their discussion, the Minister of Food and Agriculture and the Secretary, however, came to the conclusion that the Cabinet should be requested to raise the age of retirement of all officers of the Indian Forest Service, explaining further that the case of the incumbent was only incidental to this proposal.

Accordingly, in a letter dated November 25, 1952, addressed to the Joint Secretary (Establishment), Ministry of Home Affairs, enclosing a copy of correspondence between the Joint Secretary, Ministry of Food and Agriculture, and the Secretary, Union Public Service Commission, regarding the extension of service of the incumbent, the following points were raised by the Secretary, Ministry of Food and Agriculture:

1. The incumbent was a capable officer who brought a good deal of initiative and drive to Forest Administration, but the proposal was not based on his competence nor was it based on the argument that he was absolutely needed for running several schemes. It was urged that there was so great a depletion of this highly specialised type of officer cadre due to constitutional changes that it was not in the public interest to let the competent among these officers go on attaining the age of 55.
2. The Ministry of Food and Agriculture wished it to be adopted as a general policy that the Indian Forest Service officers of ability should, as a normal measure, continue to be given extensions. This recommendation was based on the past experience in trying to obtain competent

- forest officers from the States with depleted forest cadres.
3. As regards the service rights of other aspirants, nobody who would reach the age of 55 within two years could legitimately complain if the proposed extension to the incumbent was given. For, the normal rule was not to appoint anybody as Inspector-General of Forests who had less than three years of service left to go. Others who would not have reached the age of 55 years within two years would still be eligible for employment as Inspector-General of Forests, provided the proposed general principle for extension was accepted in their case also if they were selected.

Hence, the Ministry of Home Affairs was requested to obtain orders allowing the Indian Forest Service officers to continue in service till 57 years of age unless they were not suitable.

The Ministry Proposes Interim Arrangement

Meanwhile, the Under Secretary (Appointments), Ministry of Food and Agriculture, pointed out in a note that (the proposal of extension of the service of the incumbent was linked up with the general proposal that Indian Forest Service officers should normally be allowed to be retained in service up to 57 years of age) it would take some time before general orders were issued by the Ministry of Home Affairs in respect of retention of Indian Forest Service officers for two years after they attained 55 years of age. If, in the meantime, the incumbent was to be retained in service beyond December 8, 1952, formal orders were required to be issued to audit as well as to the officer for his continued appointment in his existing post.¹

Concurrence of the Home Ministry is Sought

The Under Secretary suggested that it would suffice if, in the first instance, the incumbent was continued in service as Inspector-General of Forests for a period of one month. To this interim arrangement, concurrence of the Ministry of Home Affairs was necessary.² The Joint Secretary (L. R.), therefore, approached the

1. This would enable the officer to draw his salary without facing any audit difficulties.

2. The concurrence of the U.P.S.C. was not required for extension exceeding six months.

Joint Secretary (Est.), Ministry of Home Affairs, accordingly on December 4, 1952—four days before the date when the incumbent was to superannuate.

The Joint Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs, who examined the proposal on behalf of his Ministry, suggested to the Deputy Home Minister that an extension of six months might be given during which the general question would be settled one way or the other. The Joint Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs, informed, on telephone, his counterpart in the Ministry of Food and Agriculture that the case was awaiting submission to the Deputy Home Minister and that, in the meantime, a short extension of one month pending 'firmer' orders might be taken as approved, so that, the incumbent would not be compelled to lay down charge on December 8. This was recorded on the file. The Joint Secretary stressed in his note that all necessary steps should be taken to see that the general question was decided within the next six months for which the Ministry of Home Affairs should retain the initiative in the matter, and that the incumbent should, therefore, be allowed to continue in his post during that period.

The Deputy Home Minister approved of the proposal for extension for a period of six months, and he further instructed that the matter should be referred to the Ministry of Finance.

Finance Ministry's Comments

Under an existing convention, consultation with the Ministry of Finance by the Ministry of Home Affairs was necessary in order to enable the Ministry of Finance (Department of Revenue and Expenditure) to express its opinion whether the retention in service should take the form of an extension or re-employment. The Ministry of Home Affairs accordingly referred the papers to that Ministry. In reply, the following comments were offered by the Ministry of Finance:

1. There was not enough justification for the proposal of raising the superannuation age in the case of forest officers. For, although senior forest officers were not easily available, the Centre did not require too many officers. If at all, it was a problem of State Governments and primarily their concern.
2. As the raising of the age of retirement would seriously

affect the State Services, it would not be fair if the Centre came to a final decision without having the views of the State Governments in the matter.

3. It would be worthwhile to examine if the Centre did need an Inspector-General of Forests. Pending such an examination, the incumbent might be re-employed 'as an Officer on Special Duty, as he would have, the Finance Ministry thought, retired in the meanwhile.

When the above comments were received in the Ministry of Home Affairs by the Joint Secretary (Est.), he transmitted them to the Secretary, Ministry of Food and Agriculture.

The Ministry of Food and Agriculture

Replies to the Ministry of Finance

The Secretary, Ministry of Food and Agriculture, discussed the comments of the Ministry of Finance with the Minister of Food and Agriculture who agreed to the suggestion of the Finance Ministry that before the question of raising the age of superannuation of the forest officers was settled, the consent of State Governments concerned should be obtained. But, as far as senior officers who came to the Centre and who were not likely to go back were concerned, the Centre should raise their retirement age to 57 years and, wherever necessary, obtain the concurrence of the State concerned.

As regards the need for an Inspector-General of Forests, it was pointed out by the Secretary that though 'forests' was a State subject, a great deal of Central co-ordination and direction was necessary. Besides, the Centre had the forests in the Andamans to look after. If so required, the Ministry of Food and Agriculture was prepared to present a full case about the need of the institution of Inspector-General of Forests.

As regards the question of re-employment of the incumbent, the Secretary added that he had not retired on December 8, 1952, an extension for six months having been agreed to by the Ministry of Home Affairs.

The papers with the above comments by the Secretary, Food and Agriculture, were sent back to the Joint Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs, who in turn, transmitted them to the Ministry of Finance.

The Ministry of Finance, after giving due thought to the

proposal, wished to know the Ministry of Home Affairs' reasons for favouring the proposal to grant temporary extension and reserved its comments about the general question of raising the age of superannuation for the reason that the Ministry of Home Affairs had decided not to link the general question with that particular case.

Home Ministry's Reasons for Favouring Temporary Extension

The Joint Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs, on receipt of the file, observed that the reason for favouring six months' extension was to make an interim arrangement pending settlement of the general question, viz., whether, for the special reasons given, the age of retirement of all Indian Forest Service officers should be raised. As there seemed to be at least a possibility of the final decision being in favour of a general raising of the age of retirement by two to three years, it seemed only logical that the interim arrangement should also have taken the form of an extension and not a retirement and then re-employment. If, within the stipulated limit of six months, the general question was answered in the negative, the incumbent would have to retire and would not get any extension thereafter. If, on the other hand, the general raising of the superannuation age of Indian Forest Service officers was accepted, the present extension for him would, in its turn, become otiose and would merge in his continuous service prior to the raised age of superannuation.

The Ministry of Finance Concurs in Interim Arrangement

In the circumstances explained by the Ministry of Home Affairs, the Ministry of Finance concurred in the proposed extension of service of the incumbent. Thereupon, formal orders were issued by the Ministry of Food and Agriculture on January 27, 1953, granting the extension as follows: "In sanctioning the extension, the President is satisfied that the continuance in service of the incumbent of the post of Inspector-General of Forests beyond the date of his superannuation is definitely in the public interest and that the officer is physically fit for the efficient performance of the duties attached to his post."

The U.P.S.C. is Informed

A copy of the letter of the orders sanctioning extension was

endorsed on January 27, 1953 to the Secretary, Union Public Service Commission. A separate communication explaining the circumstances in which the extension was sanctioned by the Government had also been addressed to the U.P.S.C. by the Joint Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs, on January 22, 1953. This was, however, not necessary under the executive order which required the Government to consult the Union Public Service Commission in cases of extension of superannuated officers only when the period of extension was to exceed six months. But as there had been already some correspondence with the Commission in this matter, the Ministry of Home Affairs felt that it was appropriate that the Commission should be kept informed of the developments in the case.

The Ministry of Food and Agriculture Addresses the State Governments on the Question of Age of Retirement

The Secretary, Ministry of Food and Agriculture, discussed with the Joint Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs, the issue of raising the age of superannuation of the Indian Forest Service officers. The latter agreed that, as suggested by the Minister of Revenue and Expenditure, the issue should be finally determined in consultation with the State Governments.

The Secretary, Ministry of Food and Agriculture, accordingly addressed the State Governments in March (1953) on the question. He pointed out that the age of retirement should be raised to 57 in view of the following reasons:

1. A wide gap had been created in the cadre, following a ban on the recruitment of officers during 1932-40 and the wholesale departure of the British personnel after the attainment of Independence.
2. In 1955, 28 Indian Forest Service officers would retire, leaving 24 behind.
3. As a result of two, younger and less experienced officers would have to be promoted to higher posts.

THE DECISION TO DEPART FROM THE COMMISSION'S ADVICE

*The Ministry of Food and Agriculture
Proposes Further Extension*

Meanwhile, it seemed fairly obvious to the Secretary, Ministry of

Food and Agriculture, that, in view of the many issues involved, the State Governments would take their own time to ensure full consideration of the matter from their own angle before communicating their views to the Ministry. It was also difficult to anticipate the extent to which the proposal would find favour with the States. If there was divergence of opinion between the States and the Centre, the need for personal discussion might also arise. The matter might also have to go before the Central Board of Forestry, on which the States are represented by their Forest Ministers, at its meeting to be held some time in June (1953). In these circumstances, it seemed to the Secretary that it would be too optimistic to expect a final decision being reached before the crucial date, viz., June 8, 1953 when the six months' extension (of the incumbent of the post of Inspector-General of Forests) was due to expire. Therefore, he suggested that the incumbent should be granted a further extension of six months. Accordingly, the Joint Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs, was requested on April 20, 1953, that the earlier proposal, namely, that he should get two years' extension after reaching the age of 55, should be for the time being modified to one year, inclusive of the six months already agreed to. It was added that whatever be the decision in regard to the question of raising the age of superannuation of Indian Forest Service officers, all I.F.S. officers working with the Government of India should be continued in service up to 57 years of age. It was, however, emphasised that the Ministry would take up each case individually at the appropriate time.

The Cabinet Considers the Matter

The extension of service beyond six months of the age of retirement (of the incumbent of the post of Inspector-General of Forests), in the context of the Commission's refusal to concur in the matter, necessitated a reference of the case by the Ministry of Home Affairs to a Committee of the Cabinet. The Committee was "faced with the issue of deciding whether the public interest would be better served by granting an extension of service to the officer in question or by accepting the Commission's advice based on the desirability of 'protecting the interests' of other serving officers". The Committee also considered the validity of the practice in seeking the concurrence of the

Commission in cases of extension.

The Committee decided, so far as the first question was concerned, to authorise the Ministry of Food and Agriculture to issue orders extending the officer's service for one year—up to December 8, 1953. In other words, Government ultimately elected to depart from the advice of the Commission. Further, the Committee thought that the Commission being an outside body would not be in a position to judge the real needs of Government in respect of experienced officials even after the date of their retirement. It, therefore, decided that it would no longer be necessary to consult the Union Public Service Commission in regard to extensions. Orders were passed accordingly in April 1954, to withdraw the executive order issued in 1946, requiring consultation with the Commission in cases of grant of extension exceeding six months.

In compliance with the above decision, received from the Joint Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs, on June 9, 1953, the Under Secretary, Ministry of Food and Agriculture, communicated to the officer the sanction of extension of his service by another six months, and a copy thereof was forwarded to the Commission for information^a on January 27, 1953.

3. As regards the general question of raising the superannuation age of the I.F.S. officers, a number of State Governments opposed the idea of raising the age of retirement up to 57 years and the proposal was dropped; but at the request of the Ministry of Food and Agriculture the Inspector-General of Forests was further granted extension up to January 31, 1955, although in piece-meal. As the incumbent^a was elected Secretary-General of the Fourth World Forestry Congress, a further extension till June 1955 was given.

PART THREE

THE REPORT TO PARLIAMENT

THE U.P.S.C.'S REPORT TO PARLIAMENT

IN COMPLIANCE WITH ARTICLE 323 of the Constitution of India, the Union Public Service Commission presented on July 29, 1955, to the President "a report as to the work done by the Commission"¹... "for the financial year 1953-54". Moreover, as an ellipsis of the Constitutional provision that "on receipt of such report the President shall cause a copy thereof, together with a memorandum explaining, as respects the cases if any, where the advice of the Commission was not accepted, the reasons for such non-acceptance to be laid before each House of Parliament"², the Commission mentioned in the report, *inter alia*, four cases of non-acceptance including the case of "Grant of extension of service to the incumbent of the post of Inspector-General of Forests", with a self-contained summary for each. The following general comments were offered about the four cases in which Government had not finally accepted the Commission's advice: "The Commission feel that even though their advice was not accepted in four cases only, recurrence of a few cases of this kind every year creates, as already urged in their earlier reports, a highly undesirable precedent." The case, according to the Commission as given in the Report (para 36), was as follows:

*"Grant of Extension to the Incumbent of the Post of
Inspector-General of Forests"*

36. The Commission's concurrence was sought in granting an extension of service for two years to the incumbent of the post of Inspector-General of Forests who was due to attain the age of superannuation on the 8th December, 1952. Government's reasons were that it was considered desirable

1. The Constitution of India, Part XIV, Article 323 (1).

2. *Ibid.*

that this incumbent should implement a number of schemes which he had initiated, and that no senior officer of the Indian Forest Service who had three or more years of service left, and had already held the senior administrative post of Chief Conservator of Forests for a year or more, was available to replace the incumbent. The Commission considered that insistence on retaining officers beyond the dates of superannuation for implementing schemes initiated by them would necessitate the extension of service of a large number of officers. The qualifications required as regards the number of years of service left and holding of senior posts had never been applied before to this post. The Commission, therefore, urged that the most proper course would be to select for the post the seniormost officer of the Indian Forest Service with the best record. In reply Government fell back on office memorandum No. 60-314/48-Ests. dated the 27th June, 1949 of the Ministry of Home Affairs which lays down that it will be desirable to retain, after superannuation, services of scientific and technical personnel if their special experience so warrants. The Commission emphasised that the Home Ministry's suggestion applied to 'scientists' and is not intended to apply to a post which is the highest open to existing members of a regularly organised service like the Indian Forest Service. The Commission emphasised that while there obviously were suitable officers of the Indian Forest Service who could reasonably look forward to holding this post as part of their service rights, retention of superannuated officers would be to the prejudice of the morale and contentment of such younger deserving officers as it would be contrary to the recognised canons of sound administration on which our administrative system has been based. The Commission made it clear, however, that they would have no objection to the retention of the services of the incumbent of the post on re-employment as Officer on Special Duty, subject to his continuing to be physically and mentally fit. Such an arrangement is envisaged as more appropriate in such cases in the very office memorandum of the Ministry of Home Affairs which Government invoked. In the opinion of the Commission such a course, while enabling the Government to make use

of the incumbent's services for completing the implementation of schemes, would at the same time have safeguarded the rights of the existing members of the Indian Forest Service, in the matter of promotion to the post of Inspector-General of Forests. Government did not act on the advice of the Commission immediately but examined the question of raising the age of superannuation for all officers of the Indian Forest Service. In the end, Government decided not to alter the age of superannuation and in effect granted the incumbent extension of service up to June 1954."

GOVERNMENT'S MEMORANDUM

On receipt of the Report, the Joint Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs, sent for all the papers relating to the case, and prepared a Memorandum, in consultation with the Secretary, Ministry of Food and Agriculture, explaining Government's position. This Memorandum on the Fourth Annual Report of the Union Public Service Commission explaining the reasons for non-acceptance of the Commission's advice, specially in regard to the case of the "Grant of extension to the incumbent of the post of Inspector-General of Forests", stated as follows:

"...The Government of India note with satisfaction that in the matter of direct recruitment by examination or selection, there was not a single case in which the advice of the Commission was not accepted. In paragraphs 35-38 of their Report, the Commission have referred to one case of continued re-employment of a superannuated officer and three cases of grant of extension of service, in which difference of opinion between the Government and the Commission arose. The reasons for Government's inability to accept the Commission's advice in these cases are explained below:

"2. Before dealing with the individual cases, it is necessary to make the following general observations:

- (1) There is no statutory obligation under the Constitution to consult the Commission in cases relating to the grant of extension of services. Nor was there any such requirement in the corresponding provision of the Government of India Act, 1935.

- (2) In 1946, in expectation of the constitutional changes, the then Government of India issued an executive order 'extending the functions of the Federal Public Service Commission' which provided, *inter alia*, that where Government proposed to grant an extension of service the Commission should be consulted except where the period of extension was not to exceed six months. If an officer, who is due to superannuate or retire from a post, is given an extension of service therein, there is, undoubtedly, an adverse effect on the interests of other officers who might legitimately expect to be promoted in that vacancy. The executive order appears to have been based on the consideration that it was desirable to consult an independent authority, like the Commission, before Government took a decision in the public interest which had the effect of overriding the interests of serving officers.
- (3) Since the attainment of Independence, the Government of India have, from time to time, reviewed the general policy to be adopted in the matter of extension of the services of superannuated officers. Their policy, as announced more than once in Parliament, has been to grant extensions only where such a course is clearly in the public interest; and Government have always recognised that such extensions might have to be liberally granted in the case of experienced technical and scientific personnel who are still in short supply.
- (4) While, on the one hand, this shortage has been further aggravated by the expanding needs of the Five Year Plan, Government found that in dealing with proposals for the grant of extension, the Commission tended to lay excessive stress on the 'protection' of the 'rights and expectations' of serving officers. The issue in such cases is whether the public interest would be better served by extending the services of the existing incumbent or by allowing or compelling him to retire and appointing another officer in his place. Government, who are familiar with the ability

and the performance of the officers in question, are in a far better position to decide this issue than is possible for an outside body like the Commission. Government accordingly decided in 1953 that the executive order requiring consultation with the Commission in cases of grant of extension exceeding six months should be withdrawn. At the same time, a sufficient safeguard against the possibility of hasty or subjective judgments being reached was provided by requiring that such cases should be decided not by an individual Minister but by...(a) Committee of Cabinet.

- (5) In the cases mentioned in the Commission's Report, reference to the Commission has already been made before the revised orders were communicated to all concerned.

"3. The circumstances of each of these cases are explained in detail below:

Item 2 : Grant of extension to the incumbent of the post of Inspector-General of Forests (vide para 36 of the Commission's Report).

In status, emoluments and responsibility, the post of Inspector-General of Forests, Government of India, is the highest appointment open to members of the former Indian Forest Service or the new State Forest Services. There is no fixed tenure attached to the post and the appointment is ordinarily made by selection from amongst the senior-most officers in the Forest Departments at the Centre and in the States.

On the attainment of Independence, the Forest Department cadres were severely depleted by the wholesale departure of the senior British personnel and the situation was further aggravated by the fact that between the years 1932-1940 no recruitment was made to the I.F.S.

In 1952, the Government of India, therefore, took up with the State Governments the proposal that the age of superannuation for all officers of the Indian Forest Service should be raised from 55 to 57.

The officer concerned in this case was appointed to officiate as Inspector-General of Forests in June 1949 and confirmed

in October 1950. He was due to attain the age of 55 on the 8th December, 1962. A number of important schemes initiated by him had still to be completed. Moreover, his retirement on the date of superannuation would have started a chain of promotions which would ultimately result in the appointment of officers without adequate experience to responsible posts such as Conservator or Deputy Conservators of Forests. It was, therefore, proposed that the officer should be granted an extension of service for two years and the Commission's concurrence be sought. It was also hoped at the time that the State Governments would agree to the general proposal to raise the age of superannuation of the I.F.S. officers by two years.

The upshot of the discussions between the Government and the Commission was that the Commission advised against the grant of the extension on the ground that it would affect 'morale and contentment of deserving younger officers who could reasonably look forward to hold this post as part of their service rights'. A number of the State Governments were also opposed to the proposal that the age of superannuation of the I.F.S. officers should be raised by two years.

Government were thus faced with the issue of deciding whether the public interest would be better served by granting an extension of service to the officers or by accepting the Commission's advice based on the desirability of 'protecting the interests' of other serving officers. After careful considerations, Government decided to adopt the former course and issued orders extending the officer's services for one year from the 8th December, 1952. In December 1953 the position was further reviewed and the officer was granted a further extension of six months."

DEBATE IN PARLIAMENT

On receipt of the Report of the Union Public Service Commission, the President caused a copy thereof, together with a Memorandum thereon, to be laid before the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha on September 27, 1955, and on March 16, 1956

respectively.³

While no reference was made by the members of the Lok Sabha to Government's action in regard to the cases of non-acceptance and finally the withdrawal of the executive order requiring the Commission's advice in case of extension of services beyond the retirement age, some of the members of the Rajya Sabha took a very serious view of the matter.

Shri H.N. Kunzru said that the Government had issued the executive order in 1946 after giving full thought to it; but it had now withdrawn it without a word of explanation either to the Union Public Service Commission or to the public. He could not understand why the Government had not consulted the Commission about the withdrawal of the executive order. If the Government's nominees were not only competent men but also irreplaceable, there was no reason to presume that the Commission would not have agreed to the proposal. But if the Government, on the other hand, wished to continue in service certain men merely because they were partial to it or because they had been its 'yes men' and the Union Public Service Commission declined to endorse its recommendation, the Commission, instead of being blamed, was to be honoured for its courage and integrity.

Shri H.C. Mathur stated that all three cases where difference arose between the Union Public Service Commission and the Ministry of Home Affairs, in the year 1953-54, related to the question of extension of the services of the officers due for superannuation. Referring to the withdrawal of the executive order, he complained that the Commission's power had been quietly taken away without ascertaining its advice. If Government

3. It is interesting to note the remarks by the Deputy Chairman of the Rajya Sabha on December 22, 1954, before the House considered the Commission's first three Annual Reports for 1950-51, 1951-52 and 1952-53. He remarked, "Any debate in Parliament may rightly include criticism of Government for any acts or omissions in the exercise of the powers and duties specified above and will be certainly relevant but any criticism of the suggestions or decisions of the Commission will not be relevant because it is a constitutional authority. I hope the Members will bear that in mind". The remarks of the Deputy Chairman of the Rajya Sabha do not appear to be in consonance with the actual practice. Time and again, the activities of the Commission have been subjected to criticism by Members of Parliament,

continued to behave in such a manner, he added, the Commission would soon lose respect. In all the five reports submitted by the Public Service Commission to date, cases about non-acceptance of its advice had been mentioned by the Commission; but the Government had not paid any serious attention to them. The confidence of the people in the Commission needed to be strengthened. Although recruitment to the public services was an important function of the Commission, Shri Mathur felt that it was also the constitutional duty of the Commission to maintain the morale of the services. He agreed with the Commission that "the propriety of the decision (to withdraw the executive order) to the extent it would affect adversely the existing incumbents of the services was not free from doubt and considered that the Government's decision is likely to have undesirable repercussions on the morale of the services".

Replying on behalf of the Government, *Shri B.N. Datar*, Deputy Minister of Home Affairs, pointed out that the Government had no desire to curtail or reduce the powers of the Union Public Service Commission. Government had great respect for the Commission's advice. It had accepted the Commission's advice in all the five thousand to six thousand cases referred to the Commission in the last two years except for four in 1953-54 and one in 1954-55. It was very rarely,⁴ and it was with great reluctance in these particular cases, that the Government had been constrained to depart from the Commission's advice.

Explaining the constitutional status of the Commission, Shri Datar observed that it was obligatory in certain cases on the part of the Government to seek the advice of the Commission; Government had, however, discretion to accept or not to accept the advice. Under the Constitution, it was not compulsory for the Government to implement every recommendation of the Commission, because if that was done, then all the governmental functions would have to be carried out by the Commission. The discretion given to the Government in regard to the acceptance of the advice of the Commission was being used by it keeping fully in view the public interest and Government's ultimate responsibility for the administration of the country to Parliament.

4. The cases of non-acceptance of the advice of the Union Public Service Commission during the years 1950-51, 1951-52 and 1952-53 were six, one and two respectively.

from whom the Government derived its powers. That the Government departed from the Commission's advice very sparingly was conceded by the Commission itself in its last two reports in commending Government's genuine attempts to adhere to its advice and in pointing out that instances of disregard of or departure from the Commission's advice were getting rare and rare.

Referring to the withdrawal of the executive order in question, the Deputy Minister of Home Affairs clarified that under the relevant Articles of the Constitution and the corresponding Sections of the Government of India Act, 1935, there was no obligation on the part of the Government to seek the advice of the Union Public Service Commission on matters relating to the extension of services of Government officials. The orders issued in 1946 by the Government were only executive orders and the Government had full discretion in regard to their retention or withdrawal. These orders had now been withdrawn in the public interest, as the Government felt that, being familiar with the ability and performance of the officers in question, it would be in a better position to decide about the extension of their services than an outside body like the Commission. The extension of the services of some superannuated senior officers whose ripe wisdom and long experience were a great asset to administration had been necessitated by the depletion of higher personnel as a result of the partition and the departure of the British personnel. It was difficult to agree with the contention of the Commission and the Members of Parliament that the extension of the services of a few topmost superannuated officers would have undesirable repercussions on the morale of the services. It was not at all the intention of the Government to sanction extensions in a large number of cases so as to bar younger officers from being promoted.

SUBSEQUENT DEVELOPMENTS

Through its subsequent Annual Report, the Commission found an occasion to offer its comments about the views advanced by the members of Government both in the Memoranda on Annual Reports of the Commission and during their speeches in Parliament. Thus, in its Fifth Annual Report for 1954-55, the

Commission observed as follows on Government's announcement in respect of the withdrawal of the executive order:

"During the year Government decided that the Commission need not be consulted in respect of grant of extension of services to superannuated officers of Central Services, Class I and Class II. After careful examination Government came to the conclusion in 1946 that the Commission should be associated more and more closely with matters affecting the services. To this end, Government decided, *inter alia*, that the Commission should be consulted before granting officers of Central Services Class I and Class II extension for periods exceeding six months. This convention remained in force till the 8th April, 1954, when Government decided that such consultation should no longer be necessary. There is a well established convention that decisions in such matters are taken invariably in consultation with the Commission. The Commission were not, however, consulted before these orders were issued. Extension of services of officers beyond their date of superannuation impinges not only on the service rights of younger officers belonging to regularly constituted services, but also in the case of a number of isolated posts, not included in any regularly constituted service, on the method of recruitment to such posts. The Commission felt that the propriety of the decision to the extent it would affect adversely the existing incumbents of the services was not free from doubt and also considered that Government's decision is likely to have undesirable repercussions on the morale of the services. The Commission brought their views to the notice of Government who stated in reply that they had considered the matter carefully but felt that they should adhere to the decision."

* * *

While extension has generally been granted to subsequent Inspectors-General of Forests, Government has not strictly adhered to the three-years-to-go principle which was so rigidly applied till the selection and extension of service of the particular officer to whom this Case Study relates. His successor at the

time of his appointment did not have three years service to go. Nor was the convention that the officers considered to be within the zone of selection alone should be interviewed by the final selecting authority followed. Since there was no dispute as to the competence of the selected officer there was good reason for departing from both these conventions. The Inspector-General of Forests who followed this successor was granted two years extension of service from the date of his superannuation.

COMMENTS

AS IT IS CLEAR from the Case Study, the ultimate controversial issue between the Ministry of Food and Agriculture and the Commissions—whether the officer should be granted extension or he should be re-employed—arose from the lack of long-term planning and reorientation of structure, recruitment and training policies in the Departments of Agriculture, at the Centre and in the States. This, in turn, was the inevitable consequence of the depletion of the wholesale British personnel after Independence and the imbalanced structure and method of recruitment to the Indian Forest Service because of a ban on the recruitment of officers during 1932-40.

If the soundness of the withdrawal of the executive order is to be judged from the reduced number of cases of non-acceptance, Government's assessment of the situation seems to be almost faultless—if during the first four years there were 13 cases of non-acceptance (including six cases of extension), during the six subsequent years Government elected to depart from the advice of the Commission in only four cases. In the absence of any organised and regular channel for voicing staff grievances, it is not possible to judge the Commission's prediction that the extension of the services of superannuated officers would be "likely to have undesirable repercussions on the morale of the services".

The withdrawal of the executive order, however, speaks of a trend towards decentralisation in the management of service matters. Nevertheless, the executive order sought to strike balance between two conflicting interests: (a) independent and just consideration of the cases of extension in the light of the rights of the serving civil servants by the U.P.S.C.; (b) determination of the indispensability of the extension of service to superannuating officers by Government. No wonder, cases of extension between 1950-54, offered a major cause for conflict between Government and the U.P.S.C.

The Ministry of Food and Agriculture took eight months in securing the extension of service for its officer for a period of six months and one year two months in the realisation of its objective,

i.e., to secure extension for a period exceeding six months involving a departure from the advice of the U.P.S.C. A part of the delay was caused by the long and time-consuming process of consultation with a view to securing the interests of the serving civil servants and the public interest at large. If the Government is to work "in ways preventive of whimsicality and irresponsibility, in ways accountable and reviewable", red tape is perhaps inevitable.

The Case Study highlights how decisions at every point within the administrative hierarchies are tentative, in the sense that they can be modified or revised at a higher level. Although the seat of ultimate exercise of executive authority is the Cabinet, its decisions can be modified by Parliament. The control of Parliament in this particular case, however, is of post-mortem nature. For the Houses of Parliament were reported after more than two years of the fact of action—by the time the officer had availed himself of the extension period and had already retired from Government service.

Finally, the case study also strengthens a hypothesis that when an independent outside but advisory body and an operating agency have two different views though not incompatible, the latter is able to have its way.

Viewed as a whole, this 'Case' of the grant of extension to the incumbent of the post of Inspector-General of Forests is not abnormal or even unusual, since there have been several instances in the past and subsequent years when the Inspector-General of Forests was given extension.

In another respect, however, it is 'uncharacteristic' of common governmental situations. For, there was a long-established convention to accept the advice of the Commission. Yet, Government chose to depart from the Commission's advice on the question of grant of extension of services of the officer and also withdrew the executive order requiring it to consult the Commission in cases of such extensions. Barring matters involving disagreement, the Case Study provides an opportunity for exploring 'characteristic' relations between the Government and the Commission.

CHRONOLOGY OF MAIN EVENTS

1946

The Government of India issues an executive order providing that the Federal Public Service Commission should be consulted in all cases of grant of extension of service of the Central Services Class I and Class II officers for a period exceeding six months.

1952

April

The Ministry of Food and Agriculture considers whether the incumbent of the post of Inspector-General of Forests should be granted extension or whether steps should be taken for the selection of his successor.

May

A request by the Ministry of Food and Agriculture is made to the Union Public Service Commission and the Ministry of Home Affairs to concur in the grant of extension to the Inspector-General of Forests.

The Union Public Service Commission informs its inability to accede to the proposal and requests the Ministry to transmit confidential records of senior officers.

August

The Ministry of Food and Agriculture requests the Ministry of Home Affairs to sanction extension in view of the officer being a 'scientist' in accordance with the latter's Memorandum. The Ministry of Food and Agriculture makes a similar request to the Union Public Service Commission.

September

The Ministry of Home Affairs informs that a reply from the Commission about its concurrence is being awaited.

November

The U.P.S.C. questions the applicability of the Ministry of Home Affairs Office Memorandum but recommends that the officer may be re-employed.

The Ministry of Food and Agriculture approaches the Ministry of Home Affairs to obtain orders regarding the raising of the age of superannuation to 57 years.

December The Ministry of Home Affairs is requested to approve extension for six months as a temporary measure, since the officer's question of extension is linked up with the general question of raising the age of superannuation of the Indian Forest Service officers which would take some time for settlement.

The Ministry of Food and Agriculture is informed that the Deputy Minister of Home Affairs has agreed to the proposal.

The Ministry of Finance raises some questions in regard to temporary extension.

1953

January The Ministry of Finance concurs in the proposal, on receipt of replies from the Ministry of Home Affairs and the Ministry of Food and Agriculture.

The incumbent is granted extension for six months.

April The Ministry of Home Affairs is approached for six months' further extension.

June A Committee of the Cabinet considers the case and sets aside the advice of the Commission by granting, in all, one year's extension to the Inspector-General of Forests.

The Cabinet Committee further decides to withdraw the executive order under which consultation with the Union Public Service Commission is compulsory.

The U.P.S.C. is informed about the action taken by the Committee of the Cabinet.

1955

July The U.P.S.C. submits its Annual Report to the President.

September The U.P.S.C.'s Report and the Government's Memorandum thereon are placed before the

Lok Sabha.

1956

March

The U.P.S.C.'s Report and the Government's Memorandum thereon are placed before the Rajya Sabha.

**THE EXPANSION
OF THE
BOKARO THERMAL PLANT**

**BY
PARMANAND PRASAD**

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INTRODUCTION

THIS CASE STUDY relates to decision-making by an autonomous regional administrative agency for resource development within the framework of Union-State relations and the impact of national planning on such decision-making.

The Damodar Valley Corporation is responsible for the supply of power to the D.V.C. area under its jurisdiction. In 1953, when the supply of power was just about to lag behind demand, the D.V.C. wanted to increase its capacity and requested the sanction of the Government of India to expand the Bokaro Thermal Plant by the addition of the fourth unit—a scheme which had already been approved beforehand in anticipation of a rise in demand in an area of rapid industrial growth. The request was supported by relevant data, engineering and others. The data were subjected to scrutiny and probe several times by numerous bodies. Although no substantial change in the data supplied and suggestions of the D.V.C. was made by any of these bodies, it took nearly four years to get the scheme sanctioned.

The persons and bodies involved in the process of this decision-making other than the D.V.C. were: the Union Ministry of Irrigation and Power; the Central Water and Power Commission, Government of India; the Planning Commission; the Governments of West Bengal and Bihar; and the Participating Governments' Conferences convened from time to time by the Ministry of Irrigation and Power.

NOTE: The author is thankful to Shri K.L. Handa of the Indian Institute of Public Administration for his assistance in the preparation of the Case Study.

THE SETTING

The Damodar Valley Corporation

THE DAMODAR VALLEY CORPORATION came into being in 1948. It is a statutorily created multipurpose river valley authority exercising jurisdiction over an area which falls within the States of Bihar and West Bengal. Topographically speaking, this area comprises two distinct land forms, the upper valley and the lower valley. The upper valley mostly falls in Bihar and the lower in West Bengal. The rivers of the area follow this topographical lie of the land. They originate in the hills of Bihar and flow down the plains of West Bengal. These rivers are rain-based. They get flooded during the rainy season.

Nature has endowed the area with fertile land for agriculture and rich deposits of minerals like coal, copper, limestone, mica, bauxite, etc. However, before the D.V.C. came into being, the area used to suffer from heavy floods resulting not only in recurrent devastations to life and property but also soil erosion and waste of water power. Land suffered due to excess of water in the rainy season and lack of it in the dry months. Industry suffered because of lack of adequate power.

Flood control and supply of irrigation facilities were the crying needs of the lower valley and power that of the upper valley. The problem could not be tackled well without first adopting a policy of integrated inter-State resource utilisation of the entire valley and then entrusting the development of the area to a statutorily created autonomous public corporation rather than to the two States of Bihar and West Bengal to do the job separately and in the light of their own special needs. Such a policy of maximum resource utilisation naturally led to a conception of developmental functions of this authority which, apart from flood control, irrigation, navigation and drainage, also included generation and distribution of power, prevention of soil erosion, afforestation, rehabilitation of displaced persons and a whole lot of related functions.

The nearest international parallel in this respect was then the Tennessee Valley Authority of America. A draft Bill on the lines of the T.V.A. was prepared by the Government of India in

consultation with and the approval of the two State Governments concerned in April 1947; the two State Governments having agreed to relinquish their existing constitutional powers enjoyed by them under the Government of India Act, 1935, then in force (vide items 19 and 20, List II, Provincial Legislative List, Seventh Schedule, and Section 100). They also agreed to pass resolutions in their respective legislatures under Section 103 of the Government of India Act, 1935, for this purpose.¹

The draft Bill, however, was not introduced till December 1, 1947, because it was deferred by the three Governments until the country had achieved Independence. The draft Bill was discussed in the Constituent Assembly (Legislative) on December 1, 1947, and referred to its Select Committee.

At the time when the Bill was under consideration at the level of the Select Committee, each of the two State Governments felt that its special interests in respect of the functions going to be performed by the D.V.C. required to be protected. The Government of Bihar felt that on account of the lie of the land being in favour of West Bengal—because, although the rivers of the Damodar Valley system originated in the hills of Bihar, they flowed through the plains of West Bengal—the irrigation facilities flowing from the construction of dams in the D.V.C. would go more to West Bengal than to Bihar. The Government of Bihar also feared that the advantages in respect of power too might not accrue to Bihar in the manner desired by her as West Bengal was industrially more advanced. At that time, there were 555 factories in the organised industrial sector of West Bengal, of which 376 were operating in the district of Howrah—a part of the Calcutta industrial region—, while in the whole of Bihar there were only 281 factories of which 64 were of a seasonal character, e.g., sugar. Moreover, there were also problems regarding the displacement of persons from the catchment area and their rehabilitation which mostly affected

1. The functions to be performed by the D.V.C. fell in the provincial list. Under Section 103 of the Government of India Act, 1935, it was necessary for Provincial legislatures to pass special resolutions for the Central Government to take up legislation on such matters. The position remains unchanged under the new Constitution of India, 1950. The relevant provisions in the new Constitution are: Items 14 and 17, List II—State List, Seventh Schedule; Article 246, and Article 252.

areas in Bihar. In order to safeguard its interests the Government of Bihar insisted on its right to appoint its representative on the Board of the Corporation.

West Bengal, on the other hand, wanted to have a say in regard to priorities, allocation of costs, the Central contribution to flood control, and so on. This conflict of interests between the two States resulted in the Select Committee making certain alterations in the draft Bill. The alterations made by the Select Committee and ultimately incorporated into the Act related to such important issues as the appointment of the members of the D.V.C. Board and the manner of its financing. The draft Bill, as it emerged from the Select Committee, was moved in the Constituent Assembly (Legislative) on February 14, and passed after four days of debate on February 18, 1948.

The following points regarding the D.V.C. Act may be noted:

- (1) The members of the Board are appointed by the Government of India in consultation with the State Governments concerned. It was a concession made by the Select Committee for accommodating the interests of the two States.
- (2) Under the Act, the Corporation is to be guided by the instructions of the Central Government in respect of questions of policy.
- (3) The Act further empowers the Central Government to make rules regarding the construction of dams or other installations.
- (4) The Central Government's decision is to prevail in case of any difference as to whether a question is or is not a question of policy.
- (5) Provision is also made for referring to an arbitrator, appointed by the Chief Justice of India, any dispute which may arise between the Corporation and any of the Participating Governments on any matter under the Act. The arbitrator's decision in such a case is final and binding on the parties concerned.
- (6) A convention has been evolved to hold conferences of the three Participating Governments to consider major issues of policy before decisions are taken.
- (7) The D.V.C. derives its finances from the Participating

Governments in the manner envisaged in Sections 30-36 of the D.V.C. Act (1948), with the result that the budget of the D.V.C. has to be made available to the Participating Governments for purposes of enabling them to appropriate funds.

- (8) There are a number of provisions in the Act regarding the allocation of costs between the Participating Governments.

* * *

The D.V.C. came into being to serve the needs of the unified development of the area under its jurisdiction. Its functions can be divided into two broad categories: (1) essential, and (2) ancillary. Flood control, irrigation, water supply and production and distribution of electricity may be said to fall in the first category. Other activities, which may be said to fall in the second category, include subjects like navigation, afforestation, promotion of public health, rehabilitation of displaced persons, etc.

As the promotion and operation of the scheme for the generation, transmission and distribution of electric energy, both hydro and thermal, are among the important functions of the D.V.C., virtual monopoly rights² in these respects have been given to it in the area under its jurisdiction. For example, no one, without the permission of the Corporation, can sell or transmit electric energy in the Damodar Valley at a pressure of 30,000 volts or more. Similarly, no person can generate any electric energy at an installation having an aggregate capacity of more than 10,000 KW in such parts of the Damodar Valley as are specified in Section 18(1)(c) of the D.V.C. Act. The Act confers power on the D.V.C. to issue licences to prospective suppliers in case it cannot or does not do the job itself. The statutory rights conferred on the D.V.C. carry with them the responsibility for providing, *in time, adequate generating capacity* and transmission system to meet load demands as they arise in the area. It may be noted here that monopoly rights granted to the D.V.C. under the Act do not carry with them a statutory obligation to supply power to consumers in an unlimited quantity.

2. *Vide* Section 18 of the D.V.C. Act, 1948.

Supply of power to consumers is subject to availability. This is in significant contrast with the requirements of Section 22 of the Indian Electricity Act, 1910, which made it incumbent on licensees (most of whom were private parties) to accept almost unqualified responsibility for supply of power to consumers provided they were assured of a reasonable return on investment.

The Original D.V.C. Scheme

In respect of the generation of power, the original D.V.C. scheme included the installation of a series of eight hydro-electric and one thermal power plant at Bokaro. The total generating capacity from hydro-power was expected to be of the order of 200,000 KW* and 150,000 KW from the thermal plant, bringing the total to 350,000 KW.

The D.V.C. programme in respect of generation of power, during the *first phase* of development, however, included power installations comprising hydro and thermal units as shown below:

<i>Power Station</i>	<i>Installed Capacity</i>
Bokaro (Thermal)	Initially 150,000 KW, comprising three sets of 50,000 KW. each. (Provision was made for a fourth unit of 50,000 KW which would bring the total installed capacity at Bokaro to 200,000 KW.)
Tilaiya	4,000 KW. comprising two sets of 2,000 KW each.
Maithon	60,000 KW, made up of three sets of 20,000 KW each.
Panchet Hill	40,000 KW.

The Need for a Thermal Plant at Bokaro

The thermal plant at Bokaro was fitted into the scheme of the D.V.C. because it was expected to firm up the seasonal power of hydro stations with an installed capacity of 200,000 KW (four units each of 50,000 KW). The D.V.C. justified this on the ground that it would meet the demand for power in its industrial area during the period when the seasonal rivers of the Damodar

3. Since only four dams out of eight have been constructed, this takes account of only 104,000 KW from hydro-power.

system went nearly dry. A further reason for setting up the plant at Bokaro, as given by the D.V.C., was the low cost of generation of thermal power arising from the working of the plant on low grade coal found in abundance in that area and supplied to it from the D.V.C.'s own coalfield through aerial ropeway conveyors.

The power house was designed on a unit system consisting initially of three units of steam turbo-generators of 50,000 KW each. Provision was made for a fourth thermal unit of another 50,000 KW. The first thermal power unit came into existence in the beginning of 1953 and the second and the third were ready by August and October respectively of the same year. The three units together took four years to complete.

The Charge of Wrong Priority by the Estimates Committee

The setting up of the thermal plant at Bokaro was criticised by the Estimates Committee (Fifth Report, 1951-52, on "The Central Water and Power Commission and Multiple River Valley Schemes", First Lok Sabha, March 1952) on the ground of wrong priority. The Estimates Committee felt that the D.V.C.'s work of flood control and irrigation had suffered on account of funds being diverted towards the establishment of the thermal station. The Committee noted with concern that a "secondary matter, namely, the erection of a thermal station", should have got priority over "the country's need in respect of food and agricultural produce." The Government did not refer this point to the Rau Committee⁴ (1952-53) which enquired into and reported on several other issues. The Estimates Committee, in its Forty-Ninth Report (1956-57), took note of the reply of the Government that the construction of Bokaro Power House had been decided upon before the D.V.C. was set up and that it was largely financed by World Bank Loan.

4. This was the Damodar Valley Corporation Enquiry Committee (1952-53) familiarly known as the Rau Committee after the name of its Chairman, Shri P.S. Rau. It was set up by the Central Government in the Ministry of Irrigation and Power in September 1952 in accordance with the recommendations made in the Fifth Report (1951-52) of the Estimates Committee of Parliament. According to its terms of reference the Committee was to examine and report upon some matters relating to the execution of the Damodar Valley Project, e.g., appointment of the Chief Engineer. The terms of reference did not include the Bokaro Thermal Plant.

The Growth of Demand for Power

While the Estimates Committee's complaints in this respect were still alive, the demand for power in the D.V.C. industrial belt went on rising. To this were added extra demands due to the extension of the transmission lines to areas like Calcutta, Patna, Gaya, and North Bihar. The firm capacity of the D.V.C. power system, as sanctioned in the First Five Year Plan, was only 197 MVA as against the anticipated load demand of 292 MVA in 1962-63. The D.V.C., therefore, felt it necessary to ask the Central Government (Ministry of Irrigation and Power) for the sanction of the fourth unit. It also requested simultaneously for the sanction of the hydro-electric power plant at Konar (40,000 KW power). From April 11, 1953, when the D.V.C. initially made its request till February 25, 1957, when orders were placed for the purchase of the boiler plant, there lapsed a period of nearly four years. Even if the reckoning is done with reference to the date when orders were placed for turbo-generator, i.e. August 1956, it would mean a period of little over three years. This Case describes the events that occurred during these four years in this respect.

The Planning Commission

In 1948, at the time when the D.V.C. Act was passed, the Planning Commission was not in existence. It came into being in March 1950 as an advisory body to advise the Government of India on matters pertaining to planning and development. It is charged with the function of making the overall plans of development for the country and keeping an oversight over their execution. It fixes targets and priorities for schemes of development and makes allocation of funds for each of them. In pursuance of its functions it has to make an assessment of the material, capital and human resources of the country, including technical personnel, and to investigate the possibilities of augmenting such of the resources as are found to be deficient in relation to the nation's requirements.

Even though it is not directly represented on the Participating Governments' Conference or on the Board of the Damodar Valley Corporation so as to make its impact felt visibly, the very nature of the functions performed by the Planning Commission is such that it cannot but influence decisions regarding

development in the D.V.C. area.

The role of the Participating Governments' Conference is limited to advising, co-ordinating and recommending schemes relating to development in the area.

The Central Water and Power Commission

The Central Water and Power Commission is an attached office of the Ministry of Irrigation and Power, created in June 1951 by the amalgamation of the Central Electricity Commission and the Central Water Power, Irrigation and Navigation Commission, both of which had been functioning since 1948. It provides expert advice on technical matters to the Ministry of Irrigation and Power. The Commission is charged with the general responsibility for initiating, co-ordinating and furthering schemes for the control, conservation, and utilisation of water resources for purposes of flood control, irrigation, navigation, and water-power generation as also schemes for the development of thermal power and transmission and utilisation of electric energy throughout the country.

It will be seen that the Central Water and Power Commission discharges functions in some of the same important fields of activity, viz., flood control, irrigation and power, as does the D.V.C. In the case of the D.V.C., since the Irrigation and Power Ministry is administratively in charge of it, it utilises the services of the Central Water and Power Commission for purposes of eliciting its opinion on projects submitted to it by the D.V.C.

The Ministry of Irrigation and Power

The Ministry of Irrigation and Power came into being in August 1952, under the charge of a Cabinet Minister. The Ministry is responsible for the following: (a) power, (b) irrigation, (c) flood control, and (d) river valley projects.

Power, however, is in the Concurrent List of Subjects in the new Constitution of India. In respect of power, this Ministry is concerned with the following:

- (i) development of power,
- (ii) technical assistance in power development,
- (iii) co-ordination of power and tele-communication lines,
- (iv) disputes among various States relating to utilisation of

water for power development,

- (v) electricity legislation, and
- (vi) research regarding power matters, generation and supply of electricity in Delhi.

The authority of this Ministry over matters relating to the D.V.C. is subject to the D.V.C. Act.

Governments of West Bengal and Bihar

Both the States of West Bengal and Bihar have their own Departments of Irrigation and Power. They have their own staff to advise them in this respect. Whenever the D.V.C. sends a proposal involving matters relating to irrigation and power, it is examined also by the staff of the State Departments concerned. This practice leads to multiplication of efforts of a similar nature, once at the D.V.C. level, then at the level of the two States concerned and, finally, at the Central Government's level in the Ministry of Irrigation and Power, the Central Water and Power Commission, and the Planning Commission.

PART ONE

THE CASE NARRATIVE

THE THREE UNITS of the Bokaro Thermal Power Station were commissioned into operation in 1953. But in the meantime demand for power in the D.V.C. area had increased considerably due to new schemes of industrial development which had either been completed or were under way and this increased demand could not be met fully even by the expanded power supply of the D.V.C. In view of the urgency of the demand, Shri S.N. Mozumdar, I.C.S., the then Chairman, D.V.C., addressed a D.O. letter to Shri T. Sivasankar, Secretary, Ministry of Irrigation and Power, on April 11, 1953, for the expansion of the Bokaro Thermal Plant by an additional set of 50,000 KW. Along with his letter he also enclosed a copy of a memorandum prepared by the D.V.C. regarding the proposals for the expansion of the Bokaro Thermal Plant and the hydro project at Konar. In his covering letter, he observed that if the already felt local demand for power plus the need of Calcutta, Gaya, and Patna had to be met soon in accordance with the obligations of the D.V.C. in respect of supply of power to these areas, immediate sanction was needed for the purchase and installation of the additional set at Bokaro.

Shri Mozumdar added that the D.V.C. could hardly afford to lose any time to meet the already existing demand of 45,000 KW received from Calcutta.¹ Citing examples of Bombay and Madras which also had suffered similarly on account of lack of advance planning, Shri Mozumdar observed that planning for power must look ahead. He said that like any other area in the world, the demand for power of the D.V.C. would go on jumping ahead of supply. He concluded by pointing out that the shortage of power in the area which was already manifest was likely to increase further in the latter half of the First Plan and immediately thereafter during the Second Plan. He requested Shri T. Sivasankar to take immediate personal interest in the matter and expedite the sanction.

1. The picture of load growth follows later.

The First D.V.C. Memorandum

The memorandum submitted by the D.V.C. to the Ministry of Irrigation and Power, Government of India, referred to above, made the following points:

- (1) The Corporation had already entered into a number of agreements for supply of power. The aggregate total demand on account of these contracts amounted to 113 MVA (1953). This did not include further demands of the consumers which added another 113 MVA. Apart from these the Corporation urged that it was negotiating with various parties for supply of power to the tune of 132 MVA. Thus the total load required by the D.V.C. amounted to 358 MVA. Apart from these, there were other prospective demands from the Aluminium Industry and the Sindri Fertilizer Factory located in the area. The anticipated load, year to year and the firm generating capacity, excluding the fourth set at Bokaro and the hydro-electric station at Konar, were shown by the D.V.C. as under:

	54-55	55-56	56-57	57-58	58-59	59-60	60-61	61-62	62-63
	MW	MW	MW	MW	MW	MW	MW	MW	MW
System Demand	50	80	106	136	192	222	249	274	292
System Firm Capacity	126	126	126	163 ^a	197 ^a	197	197	197	197
Surplus (+)	+76	+46	+20	+27	+5	-25	-52	-77	-95
Deficit (-)									

- (2) A comparison of the system capacity and the local forecast showed that the existing system was unable to meet even the commitments already made and the situation was likely to be worse if the 22.5 MW power from Sindri^a did not become available to the D.V.C. after some time.

2. These additions were due to the commissioning of the hydro units at Tilaiya, Maithon, and Panchet Hill.

3. This was made available to the D.V.C. from the very beginning but in view of the demand of the Sindri Factory for its own power, there was no certainty of its continuing.

- (3) The transmission system was being extended, with the sanction of the Government of India, to Calcutta in the east, and Gaya, Patna, and Dalmianagar in the west, to meet urgent demands of power in those areas. This had been agreed to by the two States at a conference of the Participating Governments held in October 1953.

In order to meet the growth of demand referred to at (1) above, the memorandum suggested further that the two decisions, i.e., the one relating to the extension of the transmission lines and the other to the expansion of power generating capacity, should be taken together. The memorandum submitted that since it took four to five years to plan and install additional generating capacity of the quantity required by the D.V.C., the D.V.C. should be allowed to take up construction of the fourth unit at Bokaro and the installation of a hydro unit at Konar so as to be able to meet by 1959-60 the anticipated short-fall in supply of power. A phased programme of expenditure to be incurred was also attached along with the memorandum. The combined expenditure on the stations at Konar and Bokaro was spread over a period of five years in such a manner that only 64 lakhs of rupees were required in the remaining First Five Year Plan period and the balance was shown as provision for the Second Plan period. The fourth unit at Bokaro was proposed to be ready by 1958-59 and the hydro-electric station at Konar by 1960-61. The memorandum urged that in order to keep the progress of industries unimpeded in the area due to shortage of power, the proposals should be accepted and work started immediately. The memorandum requested the Government of India to give early attention to the matter, as it was absolutely necessary to meet the growing demand for power. The D.V.C. thought that it would be both 'feasible' and 'financially' sound to install the fourth unit.

Consideration of the Proposal by the Government of India and the Participating Governments' Conference

The letter of Shri Mozumdar, along with the memorandum of the D.V.C., was placed by the Ministry of Irrigation and Power before the Participating Governments' Conference held in Delhi on October 26, 1953, in the room of the Minister of Irrigation and Power, Government of India. The matter was raised under

item no. 4 of the Agenda of the Conference. This Conference was attended by the Chief Ministers and the Irrigation Ministers of the Participating States, officials of the States concerned, the Chairman, the General Manager, and other officials of the D.V.C., the Union Minister of Irrigation and Power, and officers of the Central Government. By the time this meeting took place, the Ministry of Irrigation and Power had secured the opinion of the Central Water and Power Commission regarding the expansion of the Bokaro Thermal Plant and the extension of the transmission lines to Calcutta, Patna, and Gaya. The Central Water and Power Commission, while endorsing the idea for extending the transmission lines to Calcutta, Patna, and Gaya, had advised a watch over load growth for a period of two to three years in the D.V.C. system and in Calcutta area. The Ministry of Irrigation and Power presented this opinion to the Conference which, after considering it, and agreeing with it generally, appointed a Technical Sub-Committee to further examine the question of the extension of the D.V.C. power system to Calcutta, Gaya, and Patna. The issue regarding the sanction of the fourth unit was, however, deferred.

The Technical Sub-Committee and its Recommendations

The Technical Sub-Committee, consisting of Shri Kanwar Sain, Chairman, Central Water and Power Commission; Dr. K.P.P. Menon, Member, Central Water and Power Commission; Shri S. Ratnam, Joint Secretary, Ministry of Finance; and representatives of the D.V.C., and West Bengal and Bihar Governments, recommended that "the extension of the D.V.C. supply to Calcutta would necessitate additional generating capacity in the D.V.C. system." It recommended further that the programme of installation of the fourth unit at Bokaro might be reviewed after a year depending on the load growth in the D.V.C. and Calcutta area.

Government's Communication to the D.V.C.

Shri T. Sivasankar, Secretary, Ministry of Irrigation and Power, sent a letter and a copy of the recommendations of the Technical Sub-Committee to the D.V.C. on January 27, 1954. In his letter he referred to the resolution of the Participating Governments' Conference held in October 1953, and asked for

further details, if any, to be supplied to the Ministry in support of the D.V.C.'s case for the expansion of the Bokaro Thermal Plant. The D.V.C. wrote back to the Ministry on February 23, 1954, saying that the "construction of these installations (Bokaro and Konar) had been deferred for a year as advised by the Technical Sub-Committee." The Central Government did not give any other reason to the D.V.C. for deferring the decision regarding the setting up of the plant at Bokaro.

* * *

After this the matter seems to have been closed for a time. The Ministry of Irrigation and Power had acted on the expert advice of the Central Water and Power Commission, had informed the D.V.C. about it and the D.V.C. had agreed to defer the scheme. The issue could have, perhaps, been resolved if the Chief Ministers of the States concerned or the Central Minister of Irrigation and Power had directly taken up the matter with the National Development Council.⁴ But this was obviously not done.

It is, however, not unlikely that the Ministry of Irrigation and Power, perhaps thought that the forecast of demand for power made by the D.V.C., in view of the experience in the early years of the demand situation when offtake was not much, might have been made on the optimistic side. Perhaps, in anticipation of this fear of the Ministry, it was suggested in the memorandum of the D.V.C. that no such doubts need be entertained, because in the past insufficient offtake had taken place due to reasons which no more held good. These reasons were:

- (a) Delay in the programme of completion of transmission lines and sub-stations on account of late arrival of equipment from abroad;
- (b) Inability of large consumers like the TISCO and the IISCO to take supply because of late delivery of

4. The National Development Council consists of the Prime Minister of India, Chief Ministers of the States, and members of the Planning Commission. It has, like the Planning Commission, no constitutional or statutory authority. It reviews the working of the National Plan from time to time and recommends measures for the achievement of the Plan targets. It also considers important questions of social and economic policy.

- equipment for their plants; and
- (c) Conversion of temporary 66 KV system to the 132 KV system while maintaining supplies all the time.

The Supply Situation Worsens (1954-55)

While all this correspondence to and fro was taking place, the demand of parties on the existing supply went on multiplying. The alternatives, as the D.V.C. officials saw them, were either to catch the demands as they were coming up or to allow other parties, public or private, to come into the field to do the job. The D.V.C.'s choice was clear. It chose the former. The second course of action, in addition to inviting the charge of failure in carrying out its duties and consequent unpopularity among the people of the area, would have led to a loss of a lucrative source of revenue for all times to come.⁵ Furthermore, the D.V.C. did not expect much opposition to expansion of power development from the two State Governments concerned because it was in the interest of both to have more power. Having taken up such a position, by the year ending 1954, the D.V.C. entered into a number of commitments, including an agreement with the Calcutta Electricity Supply Corporation Ltd. (a private concern), in April 1954, to supply all additional future power requirements in the Calcutta area. The assessed initial demand early in 1957 stood at 45,000 KVA and was expected to rise to 100,000 KVA in four years' time.⁶ During the year 1954-55, five contracts were signed for the supply of a total of 52,750 KVA of power from the D.V.C. power system, as follows: (1) the Government of Bihar at Digwadih—750 KVA, (2) the Government of Bihar at Ramgarh—1,000 KVA, (3) the Indian Copper Corporation at Ghatsila—5,000 KVA, (4) the Calcutta Electricity Supply Corporation at Howrah—45,000 KVA, and (5) the Government of West Bengal at Burdwan—1,000 KVA.⁷

Apart from the above, negotiations were being carried with

5. It may be mentioned here that up-to-date power projects are the ones among the so-called revenue earning projects which are yielding the most.

6. It meant that from 1957 onwards, the firm capacity available with the D.V.C. should be enough to satisfy the increase in demand.

7. Since most of them were open-dated agreements, no specific dates for delivery were mentioned.

(1) the Indian Iron and Steel Co. Ltd., for supply at Hirapur, (2) the Eastern Railway for electrification at Belur, Belmuri, and Burdwan, (3) the Government of West Bengal for supply at Durgapur, and (4) the Government of Bihar for supply at Bokaro. Moreover, enquiries regarding availability of power in the Valley from the D.V.C. system were pouring in from several other industrial enterprises also, including one from the Indian Aluminium Corporation at Asansol. Up to the end of the year 1954, contracts for power supply of 114,200 KVA had either been signed or were going to be signed. Additional notified requirements of consumers amounted to 114,900 KVA and notified demand accepted by the Corporation so far accounted for a further 128,500 KVA. Total commitments amounted to 357,600 KVA.

The Matter is Reopened

As the demand for power on the D.V.C. was pressing, it became difficult for it to wait for the period of one year for re-opening the issue. The D.V.C., therefore, raised it at a meeting of the Participating Governments' Conference held on July 13, 1954, i.e., within five months of the receipt of the letter of February 23, 1954. The Conference was attended, as usual, by the Chief Ministers and Irrigation Ministers of Bihar and West Bengal, the Chairman and General Manager and other officials of the D.V.C., high officials in aid of the Ministers of the State Governments and officers from the Central Government. Although at this Conference of the Participating Governments the necessity for the expansion of power was admitted, in view of the First Five Year Plan coming to an end, it was decided that the matter should be deferred for inclusion in the Second Plan.

It appears likely that the following considerations influenced the above decision: (a) The Ministry of Irrigation and Power, perhaps, thought that as a project not included in the Plan had usually little chance of being approved by the Planning Commission, and as the First Plan was very near to its completion, it was no use pursuing the matter with the Commission. (b) The country was facing foreign exchange stringency at that time and Government departments were, under the advice of the Planning Commission, asked to reduce to the absolute minimum their foreign exchange commitments. (c) It is also likely that

the strictures passed by the Estimates Committee regarding the priority given to the Bokaro Thermal Plant were still fresh in the mind of the Union Ministry of Irrigation and Power.

The above decision was communicated to the D.V.C. on August 16, 1954 by the Under Secretary to the Government of India, Ministry of Irrigation and Power; and it was asked to submit a detailed report of the project for inclusion in the Second Plan.

The Deputy Secretary of the D.V.C. acknowledged receipt of this letter and also sent a detailed report regarding the fourth unit at Bokaro and the hydro-electric station at Konar in order to enable the Ministry of Irrigation and Power to get the project included in the Second Plan. In the report, the D.V.C. reiterated the points made earlier and drew the attention of the Government to the fact that the desired expansion would be a paying proposition because it would give a return on investment at the rate of 6.15 per cent per annum.

Another Reference to the Central Water and Power Commission
On September 13, 1954 the Ministry of Irrigation and Power sent the report of the D.V.C. to the Central Water and Power Commission for its comments. The Ministry also asked the Central Water and Power Commission to give its opinion on load potential of the area. The Central Water and Power Commission sent its comments on December 13, 1954. It observed that the fourth unit at Bokaro and the Konar hydro-station seemed to be the most logical and economical projects for 'immediate' consideration.

The comments of the Central Water and Power Commission on the proposal for the expansion of the Bokaro Thermal Plant were as follows:

The initial setback in the load growth in the D.V.C. system is only a passing phase and a fairly bright load picture is foreseen—about 365 MW in 10 years from now.

There is sufficient generating capacity in the system for the next three years (till the end of 1957-58) and a real shortage would be felt thereafter.

About 100 MW of additional power plant capacity would be required for the period following 1957-58 and the

work on the planning and construction of new projects should, therefore, be taken in hand immediately.

The Bokaro's fourth unit (57.5 MW) and the Konar hydro-power station (40 MW) seem to be the most logical and economical projects for immediate consideration. No definite opinion could be given in respect of the proposed coke oven-cum-power station (60 MW) of the West Bengal Government due to want of detailed data.

The plant additions, to meet the system power demand beyond 1961-62, should be made the subject of a detailed study and review towards the end of 1957.

The question of power plant addition in the D.V.C. is intimately connected with the available generating capacity and the load growth in the Calcutta area. The maintenance of an optimum capacity of power plant in a dependable condition by the Calcutta Electricity Supply Corporation should be ensured simultaneously with the further plans for the D.V.C.

The Irrigation and Power Ministry sent the comments of the Central Water and Power Commission for information to the D.V.C. on January 29, 1955.

Further Deterioration in Power Supply Position (1955-56)

During 1955-56, the position regarding supply deteriorated further. The Sindri Fertilizers and Chemicals Ltd., which was under agreement to supply 22.5 MW power to the D.V.C., expressed its inability to continue the supply in view of increase in its own power requirements. It further desired to be supplied with 10 MW power from the D.V.C. system after 1958. The D.V.C. relieved the Sindri Fertilizers from its contractual obligations with effect from July 1, 1955. A nominal interchange of power, however, continued to take place and the amount of power taken by both parties was balanced every month.

The existing iron and steel industries in the Damodar Valley, such as the Tata Iron and Steel Co. Ltd., Jamshedpur, and the Indian Iron and Steel Co. Ltd., Burnpur, which had expansion schemes under way for the Second Five Year Plan, requested the D.V.C. to meet their additional power requirements. Similar requests were also received from the Rohtas Industries through

the Government of Bihar and the Sindri Cement Works of the Associated Cement Company for their expansion schemes. The Railways also indicated their additional power requirements for the proposed extension of Railways electrification under the Second Five Year Plan. With the location of a steel plant in the public sector at Durgapur, request for supply of power to it was also received by the D.V.C. The Calcutta Electricity Supply Corporation Ltd., with which the D.V.C. had an agreement for power supply, gave notice under the terms of the agreement that it would require 74,000 KVA of power during 1958. It subsequently intimated its requirements for 1959 as 85,000 KVA.

In view of the urgency of the demand and the inability of the D.V.C. to supply power, the Indian Iron and Steel Co. Ltd., (a private sector enterprise), was permitted by the D.V.C. to set up its own power plant of 20,000 KW at Burnpur. Altogether, the total anticipated power demand from all quarters was estimated to amount to 590,000 KVA in 1962-63.

* * *

The situation regarding shortage of capacity was fully known to the Participating Governments because, apart from formal communications regarding it, mention about which has been made earlier, there were available with them periodical and Annual Reports issued by the D.V.C.

While the matter was yet pending before the Participating Governments' Conference and the Ministry of Irrigation and Power, consideration of schemes of development in respect of the expansion of the Tata Iron and Steel Co. Ltd., Jamshedpur, the Indian Iron and Steel Plant, Burnpur, the steel plant at Durgapur, and the electrification of certain parts of the Railway zone in that area, to mention only a few, had reached almost the final stage at the level of the respective Central Ministries concerned and the Planning Commission. In fact, as has been remarked above, demand for the supply of power had already begun to pour in and in one case, viz., the Indian Iron and Steel Co. Ltd., the D.V.C. was even obliged to permit that company to set up its own power plant of 20,000 KW at Burnpur, leading to loss of revenue to the D.V.C. from this source.

The Matter is Placed Before the Planning Commission

The Planning Commission, on its own, did not make any move in this direction. It waited for the receipt of a proposal from the Ministry of Irrigation and Power for inclusion in the Second Plan of the project to expand the Bokaro Thermal Plant by the addition of the fourth unit. This proposal was actually made towards the end of the year 1954. The Planning Commission, after having considered the proposal, sent a reply to the Ministry of Irrigation and Power, in the third week of February 1955, stating that while the D.V.C. might be asked to be ready for placing orders for the fourth unit after final approval, more detailed information about the project than hitherto supplied might be worked out by the D.V.C. and sent to the Commission so as to enable it to take the final decision. This communication was addressed to the Ministry by the Chief of Irrigation and Power Division of the Planning Commission.

On receipt of this communication from the Planning Commission, the Joint Secretary, Ministry of Irrigation and Power, wrote a D.O. letter on March 1, 1955, to Shri P.S. Rau, Chairman, D.V.C.,* asking for further details regarding the projects at Bokaro and Konar. He also enclosed along with the D.O. letter the comments of the Planning Commission in respect of this project.

The D.V.C. replied on June 9, 1955, after over three months. This reply was sent by the Secretary, D.V.C. The letter contained a complete report with all information and detailed estimates for the fourth unit at Bokaro and the hydro-electric station at Konar. The Project Report prepared by the D.V.C. for the installation of a 75 MW unit at Bokaro was received in the Central Water and Power Commission in June 1955. The Commission, after examining it, accepted the same and submitted it to Government in October 1955. After this, some routine correspondence passed between the Ministry and the D.V.C. on some minor points of information.

8. Shri S.N. Mozumdar, I.C.S., the first Chairman, proceeded on leave and was succeeded by Shri P.P. Varma, one of the Members, as an interim measure. Shri K.S.V. Raman, I.C.S., was appointed as a Member, in place of Shri Varma on July 9, 1953. Shri Raman remained in office for only a month and reverted to the Government of Bihar. The post remained vacant for the remaining part of the year.

Participating Governments' Conference, 1956

A meeting of the Participating Governments' Conference was held on April 16-17, 1956. The matter was again raised by the D.V.C., but this time the proposal put forward by the D.V.C. was for "the installation of a fourth unit (75,000 KW) at Bokaro at a capital cost of Rs. 4.56 crores."

The change in demand from a 50,000 KW to a 75,000 KW unit was made by the D.V.C. [on account of advice tendered to it by its Board of Consultants (Power)] who, in their meeting held in July 1955, had recommended that "a study of the data submitted by the tenders showed that for Bokaro extension a 75 MW generating set would provide power more economically than a 50 MW set." In view of this, the Participating Governments' Conference resolved that "provision for the installation of the fourth set at a cost of Rs. 4.56 crores is approved, subject to the condition that the capacity of the set (50,000 KW or 75,000 KW) would be decided after taking into consideration the tendered prices and technical advice." This, however, was, by no means, the end of the matter. The above Conference also decided to pursue the matter further with the West Bengal Government as co-ordination was required with that Government regarding the latter's plan for the location of its scheme for the generation of thermal power at Durgapur.

Meeting with the Government of West Bengal

A meeting with the Government of West Bengal and the members of the D.V.C. took place on April 26, 1956. The meeting was attended by the Chief Minister and Development Commissioner, West Bengal; Administrator, Durgapur Steel Project; Chairman, D.V.C.; a Member of the D.V.C.; and officers of the D.V.C. and the Government of West Bengal.

After discussion, the following decisions were taken:

1. The West Bengal Government should pursue its own scheme of generating thermal power in Durgapur area amounting to 60,000 KW.
2. That the D.V.C. should have its own thermal station as near the steel plant as possible so that they could utilise the gases from the steel plant. The D.V.C. could generate 150,000 KW.
3. That while the control and management of these two

thermal stations could remain separate, there should be integration so far as the supply of power to different areas was concerned according to such agreement as might be arrived at between the D.V.C. and the West Bengal Government.

4. It appeared from discussions that while the total amount of firm power available for D.V.C. by 1960-61 would be about 260 MW, including the fourth unit at Bokaro and the Konar set, the total firm demand from different consumers would be in the neighbourhood of 420 MW. Therefore, the Damodar Valley Corporation should make arrangements to generate this extra quantity of power by 1960-61 and take early steps accordingly.
5. That in view of the different organisations being set up in the Durgapur area, the West Bengal Government should take steps to have a plan for development of the area as also a plan for the future development of the area including the site for the various townships connected with organisations to be established, the site for installation of the plants, the question of water supply and drainage of the area, provision of roads for the area. A committee should be appointed representing the Government of India, Government of West Bengal, and the D.V.C., to have control over the area where the various plants are proposed to be ultimately installed.

The Government Decides

The matter, having been cleared with the Government of West Bengal, was pursued further with the Union Ministry of Irrigation and Power by the Chairman, D.V.C., the late Shri P.P. Varma, through letters and personal interviews. The Joint Secretary, Ministry of Irrigation and Power, addressed on May 29, 1956, a D.O. letter to Shri Varma stating that the Government had realised the "urgency of the expeditious installation of the fourth unit at Bokaro." The matter, he said, had been discussed at the Participating Governments' Conference which had made a recommendation in favour of setting up the fourth set at Bokaro. The Government, he observed, was also in full agreement with that recommendation and wanted the Corporation to go ahead on the assumption that the

scheme had been approved. He, however, added that Government was awaiting 'formal clearance' from the Planning Commission. The Second Plan, as it finally emerged, included the expansion of the Bokaro Thermal Plant by the inclusion of the fourth unit among approved schemes for power generation.

On the receipt of this letter, the D.V.C. moved in the matter, and placed an order for turbo-generator in August 1956 and for boiler plant on February 25, 1957.

PART TWO

THE FOLLOW-UP

THE TARGET DATE for commissioning the unit was August 31, 1959. As the plant could not be ready for trial and commissioning by the suppliers M/s MAN,¹ the date for putting it on trial was revised to February 1960. The unit was actually put on trial in the beginning of March 1960.

The Demand for Power After 1957

It may be pertinent here to pause and see as to what was happening regarding the position of power after 1957. In the year 1957-58, the D.V.C. entered into contracts with the West Bengal State Electricity Board for supply of 3,500 KVA at Kharagpur, with the Government of Bihar for 10,900 KVA at Ramgarh, Digwadih, Badjna, Ganeshpur, and Bokaro, with the Dishergarh Power Supply Co. Ltd. for 4,000 KVA at Dishergarh and Kumardhubi, with the Associated Power Company Ltd. for 2,700 KVA at Luchipur and with the Indian Iron and Steel Co. Ltd. for 2,000 KVA at Kulti. The total demand for power supply thus amounted to 293,400 KVA according to the agreements executed by the Corporation up to the end of March 1958. In addition, a notice was received, during 1957-58, from the Calcutta Electricity Supply Corporation Ltd., under the terms of their agreement, that they would require 95,000 KVA of power during 1960. The jumping demand for power necessitated a fresh load survey. It was done in the later part of 1957 in collaboration, as usual, with the Central Water and Power Commission. As a result of the survey, it came out that the estimated demand for power on the D.V.C. system would be as under:

1959-60	..	..	396 MW
1960-61	..	..	580 "
1961-62	..	..	692 "
1962-63	..	..	740 "
1963-64	..	..	822 "
1964-65	..	..	930 "

1. A West German concern.

1965-66 1195 MW

When the fourth unit of Bokaro Thermal Plant was put on trial in the beginning of March 1960, it developed some trouble, resulting in damage to generator bearings. The suppliers took about four months to rectify this defect by redesigning the parts and fitting them. The unit was brought into operation on June 19, 1960. Two months later, i.e., on August 22, the turbine thrust bearing failed with consequential damage to certain other components also. Due to these and certain other troubles subsequently experienced, the plant could not be commissioned. (Similar troubles were also experienced with two more units at Durgapur resulting in inordinate delay in commissioning these units.) The result of all this was not only loss of revenue but also an increase in the cost of the scheme.

The Public Accounts Committee (Second Lok Sabha) in its 30th Report, 1961-62 (December 1961) on the Audit Report on the Accounts of the D.V.C. for the year 1959-60 (Vol. I) observed as follows: "The estimated revenue from the three units (first and second units of Durgapur and fourth unit of Bokaro) after commissioning was Rs. 1.33 lakhs per day. Besides the loss of revenue, the delay in completion of work was increasing the cost of the project mainly on account of the staff employed in the project."

The Committee deplored that the trouble which had arisen in putting the unit into operation should have taken place even after spending a sum of Rs. 42 lakhs on the services of consulting engineers. The explanation for this given by the D.V.C. was that some of the troubles were due to defective design and others to defective workmanship, material and commissioning technique. The suppliers M/s MAN² did not have adequate experience in the manufacture of turbines of the specified size and design.³

2. *Ibid.*

3. Shri S.N. Mozumdar, who was associated with the Project in its early days, considers that the change of decision for having a 75,000 KW unit instead of the originally planned 50,000 KW unit was responsible for this wastage in time, effort and money.

The D.V.C., however, feels that the implication of the suggestion of Shri S.N. Mozumdar in this respect could be valid only 'if repeat orders could have been placed for a fourth 50 MW unit irrespective of price considerations. The fact is that the D.V.C. called for quotations for both 50 MW and 75 MW units. A certain firm quoted for 50 MW unit but its

The matter was further looked into by the Sachdeva Committee⁴ which was set up in 1961 to enquire into the power position in Calcutta and D.V.C. area arising out of the breakdowns of the Calcutta Electric Supply Co.'s power units and specially the repeated failures of the three 75 MW units supplied by M/s MAN to the D.V.C. The Committee, in its report submitted in August 1962, rejected the contention of the D.V.C. authorities that the troubles experienced with the turbine generator plant, 'slagging' problem in respect of the boiler plant and the defects in the coal mills were of the nature of 'teething troubles'. It attributed the troubles to defective equipment and insufficient past experience of the manufacturers in successful designing and putting into satisfactory service 75 MW plants of the required specifications.

The Committee further observed that the insufficient experience of the manufacturers was responsible for experiments for over the last 15 months at Bokaro and nine months at Durgapur to rectify the defects. The Committee suggested that to avoid similar troubles in future, every effort should be made "to purchase standard equipment, well tried-out in other parts of the world over a number of years." It also suggested that "utmost emphasis should be laid on 'prototype' experience in design and material even though the plant efficiency might be somewhat less than that claimed by the manufacturers of the plant." To prevent defects and delays leading to dislocations and high costs, the Committee further suggested that even "if the selection of plant on this basis involves payment of a higher cost, it would be judicious to accord necessary price preference on the score of extensive experience of the manufacturer and proved reliability of his products."

price was very high and it was not prepared to reduce it. On examination of the tenders received it was found that a 75 MW unit would be more economical in first cost as well as in operational cost. The D.V.C. Board of Consultants accordingly advised the D.V.C. to go for a 75 MW unit. This expert advice had to be accepted because the tender system could not be disregarded—an order placed on a single-tender basis irrespective of price consideration for a 50 MW unit which was the D.V.C.'s original intention to install.

4. Besides Shri M.R. Sachdeva, Secretary, Union Ministry of Irrigation and Power, who was its Chairman; the Committee consisted of Shri S.S. Kumar, Chairman, Central Water and Power Commission; Shri A.K. Bhau-mik, Member, West Bengal State Electricity Board; and Mr. P.R. Sundram, Chief Engineer, Bihar State Electricity Board.

COMMENTS

THE D.V.C. was conceived on the lines of the T.V.A., even designed in its earlier stages similarly, but was later on adapted to accommodate conflicting State interests. It was a case of sacrifice of sound administrative principles for political conveniences. The result is that the D.V.C. is not the master of its own destiny. Before it can take any major policy decision, the D.V.C. has to consult the Central Government and the Governments of West Bengal and Bihar. Even its engineering schemes are vetted by the appropriate departments and agencies of the three Governments concerned. At the central level this function is performed by the Central Water and Power Commission—an attached office of the Ministry of Irrigation and Power. To these arrangements has been added one more level, the Planning Commission, whose concurrence is needed for maintaining balances in overall planning.

In the present Case Study, the multiplicity of levels of consultation and concurrence resulted in 'revolving' the report submitted by the experts of the D.V.C. among various centres of expertise and authorities several times. If any substantial changes had been introduced in the scheme submitted by the experts of the D.V.C., there would have been something to be said for such a system. But this did not happen. There was not only loss of time and profits for the D.V.C., but what is more, retardation of development of industries in the entire area served by the D.V.C. If a vetting of the scheme submitted by the D.V.C. was necessary, it could have been more expeditiously done at a meeting of the experts of the three Governments concerned with those of the D.V.C. or through the appointment of a technical committee with members drawn from all the parties concerned.

To facilitate harmonious functioning there exists the mechanism of the Participating Governments' Conference. But this acts not only as a Clearance House but also as a Sounding Board. Divergence of interests between the States of Bihar and Bengal very often makes even economic issues politically charged. In such a situation it is too much to expect the parties to come

out with their cards openly. Each party tries to play safe. No one usually says a 'no' to any proposal directly. The easiest way to get out is to refer the matter for further investigation. In this case, if the Government of West Bengal had the Durgapur Thermal Plant up its sleeve, the Government of West Bihar had its own interests in the share of the fruits of the D.V.C. The Central Government seemed reluctant to take a quick decision due to the earlier criticism of the Estimates Committee regarding the Bokaro Thermal Plant and the fear that the schemes, not already included in the Plan, would have little chance of acceptance by the Planning Commission. It also appears that the Central Government was making rather overcautious surmises regarding the availability of foreign exchange.

As to the implementation of the project, the responsibility for whatever went wrong must lie squarely on the D.V.C. which was ultimately responsible for results. Not enough care was perhaps given to the selection of contractors for erecting the Thermal Plant. It is also not clear whether there was sufficient supervision of the work of the contractors otherwise the defects that came to light later could have been detected earlier and remedial action taken in time.

CHRONOLOGY OF MAIN EVENTS

1947

April Draft D.V.C. Bill is prepared by the Government of India.

December The draft Bill is introduced in the Constituent Assembly (Legislative).

1948

February The draft Bill is passed.

1950

March Planning Commission comes into being.

1951

June Central Water and Power Commission comes into being.

1953

First, Second, and Third thermal power units of the Bokaro Thermal Plant come into existence.

❁ ❁ ❁

April Shri S.N. Mozumdar, Chairman, D.V.C., writes a D.O. letter to Shri T. Sivasankar, Secretary, Ministry of Irrigation and Power, for the expansion of the Bokaro Thermal Plant by one more unit of 50 MW.

October At a conference of the Participating Governments, the two States of Bihar and West Bengal agree to the extension of the transmission system to Calcutta in the east, and Gaya, Patna, and Dalmianagar, in the west.

The letter of Shri Mozumdar, along with the memorandum explaining the schemes for a fourth unit at Bokaro and a hydro plant at Konar, is placed by the Ministry of Irrigation and Power for consideration at the Participating Governments' Conference.

1954

January Shri T. Sivasankar sends to the D.V.C. a letter along with a copy of the recommendations of the Technical Sub-Committee.

- February The D.V.C. writes to the Ministry of Irrigation and Power that the consideration of construction of these installations at Bokaro and Konar has been deferred for a year as advised by the Technical Sub-Committee.
- April The D.V.C. enters into an agreement with the Calcutta Electricity Supply Corporation Ltd. undertaking to supply all additional future power requirements in the Calcutta area.
- * * *
- July The matter is reopened at a meeting of the Participating Governments' Conference.
- August The Under Secretary, Ministry of Irrigation and Power, Government of India, writes a letter to the D.V.C. for submitting a detailed report of the project for inclusion in the Second Plan.
- The Deputy Secretary, D.V.C., sends a reply to the Secretary, Ministry of Irrigation and Power, Government of India, along with a detailed report regarding the fourth unit and the hydro-electric station at Konar.
- September The Ministry of Irrigation and Power sends the report of the D.V.C. to the Central Water and Power Commission for its comments.
- December The Central Water and Power Commission reports back on the reference.
- The Ministry of Irrigation and Power makes a request to the Planning Commission to include the project in the Second Plan.

1955

- January The Ministry of Irrigation and Power forwards the comments of the Central Water and Power Commission to the D.V.C. for information.
- February The Chief of Irrigation and Power Division, Planning Commission, sends a letter to the Ministry of Irrigation and Power enclosing the reply of the Commission that while the

- D.V.C. might be asked to be ready for placing orders for the set after final approval, more detailed information about the project than hitherto sent to it might be worked out by the D.V.C. and sent to the Commission so as to enable it to take the final decision.
- March The Joint Secretary, Ministry of Irrigation and Power, Government of India, writes a D.O. letter to Shri P.S. Rau, Chairman, D.V.C., giving the comments of the Planning Commission in respect of the Project and asking for further details regarding projects at Bokaro and Konar.
- June The Secretary, D.V.C., sends a reply to Shri R.R. Bahl, Joint Secretary, Ministry of Irrigation and Power, furnishing a complete report with all information and detailed estimates for the fourth unit at Bokaro and the hydro-electric station at Konar.
- July The D.V.C. relieves the Sindri authorities from contractual obligation.
- 1956
- April At a meeting of the Participating Governments' Conference, the matter is again raised by the D.V.C.
A meeting between the Government of West Bengal and the members of the D.V.C. takes place in the room of the Chief Minister of West Bengal.
- May The Joint Secretary, Ministry of Irrigation and Power, writes a D. O. letter to Shri Varma, Chairman, D.V.C., stating that the Government wanted the Corporation to go ahead on the assumption that the scheme had been approved.
- 1957
- February The D.V.C. places order for the fourth unit at Bokaro, with the target date of commissioning as April 31, 1959.

1960

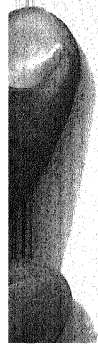
- March The fourth unit is put on trial but it develops trouble.
- June The unit is put on a second trial but it again fails to work.
- August The turbine thrust bearings fail.

1961

- December The Public Accounts Committee criticises the working of the unit.

1962

- August The Sachdeva Committee attributes the troubles in working to defective equipment and insufficient past experience of the manufacturers.



**THE
PUBLIC HOSPITAL CASE**

**BY
A. AVASTHI**

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THE SETTING

INSPECTION OF GOVERNMENT OFFICES and departments in India may be classified under four broad categories: (1) built-in internal inspection; (2) inspection by higher authorities within the office or department; (3) inspection by a separately constituted inspectorate; and (4) inspection by audit authorities. The Inspectorate of Offices, with which this Case Study is concerned, comes in the third category.

The Case under study pertains to one of the States of the Indian Union. The State Secretariat is headed by a Chief Secretary who supervises and co-ordinates the working of all its departments. An Inspectorate of Offices was set up in the State Secretariat some years ago, and placed under the administrative control of the Chief Secretary, the reason being that he is the only high authority who has the power and jurisdiction to give final directions to the offices or departments of the State Government on controversial points. The order establishing the Inspectorate stated: "The duties of the Inspectorate staff will not only be to carry out inspections of accounts, stores, etc. of the offices and departments of this State at least once in a year but also to look into their general working so as to improve their efficiency." The Inspectorate was initially placed under the control of the Assistant Secretary (Finance) working under the Chief Secretary, but was subsequently put under the Chief Secretary directly. The original intention that all offices under the State Government should be inspected once a year was not found feasible due to increase in the number of offices and follow-up work.

The Public Hospital is one of the hospitals run by the State Government. The Medical Superintendent (M.S.) of the Hospital is the head of the hospital organisation including its offices. The office work is broadly divided into the following main sections, viz., Accounts, General, Registration, Steward, Stores, and Establishment. The office administration of the Hospital

NOTE : The author is thankful to Shri R.S. Gupta, Assistant Research Officer of the Indian Institute of Public Administration, for his assistance in the preparation of the Case Study.

was looked after by an Office Superintendent who worked under the general guidance and direction of the A.M.S.

The responsibility for efficient administration of the Hospital is vested primarily in the M.S. who, in turn, prior to 1958, was answerable to the Director of Health Services (D.H.S.). The latter was the head of the Health Department. His post was, however, abolished in 1958. As regards the inspection of the Hospital, the internal inspection is the duty of the M.S., but the D.H.S., as superior officer, also used to inspect the Hospital at regular intervals. His inspection was mainly concerned with what may be described as 'professional' matters like the care of the patients, purchase of expensive equipment, supervision of the staff, etc. He did not look into minor procedural matters, observance of office rules and manuals, and accounts. The latter were inspected by the Inspectorate of Offices, since its inception.

PART ONE

THE INSPECTOR'S REPORT

EARLY IN MARCH 1954, the Inspector, who headed the Inspectorate of Offices, inspected the Public Hospital. The Inspector's post, it may be noted, is equivalent to that of a Superintendent in the Class III Service of the State. The Inspector concerned was a person who had put in about 30 years of service and was on the verge of retirement. He had risen to this post from the position of a clerk. He was well-versed in the details of rules and regulations and believed that there should be complete and strict compliance with them under all circumstances. In conducting the inspection, he confined himself to the office records and documents. He met the Office Superintendent, the Head Clerk, and other junior staff, but did not call on the M.S. or Deputy M.S. of the Hospital to settle some of the objections on the spot.

The Inspector submitted his report towards the end of March 1954 to the Chief Secretary who commented as follows:

"In so far as the report on the Hospital is concerned, I have read it with great interest. It shows the technicians' disregard for petty routine matters. This is typical but since Government finances are involved they have to find time for attending to these uninspiring matters.

"The Inspector of Offices will devise a proforma on which every point mentioned in the Inspection Report shall be noted in brief for compliance. A reasonable time, e.g., a fortnight or a month, will be allowed for reporting compliance. Every month the register of these proformae shall be put up to me with a clear indication whether the points in question have been complied with or not. The Inspector of Offices will be periodically in touch with the Heads of Departments concerned to find out the difficulties on account of which they have not been able to implement a particular suggestion. No inspection report should remain uncomplied with after four months. The Inspector of Offices will submit a report quarterly on compliances."

The Chief Secretary further observed that the following procedure should be adopted in regard to taking action on inspection reports:

“Copies of the report should, in my opinion, go simultaneously to the Departments or Secretaries concerned immediately and unless the Secretary concerned does not approve of a suggestion made by the Inspector of Offices, he should order compliance with each point. The points of difference may be brought to my notice with the opinion of the Secretary or the Head of the Department concerned. Order which will eventually issue from this office will be final.”

It may be noted that at the time the Case happened, no separate follow-up action on the inspection reports by the administrative departments was considered necessary as the reports were being followed up by the Inspectorate, and the replies received from the inspected offices were examined by it and further observations made where necessary. The copies of the inspection reports and further observations and comments, if any, were forwarded to the executive departments to apprise them of the position and enable them to keep the objections raised therein in view while examining proposals for expenditure sanctions or for regularisation of the irregularities, received from the inspected offices. In some cases, however, the replies of the inspected offices were also endorsed to the Administrative Secretary in charge of the department concerned at the State Secretariat to apprise him of the action taken by the Inspectorate, avoid duplication of action and keep his records complete.

* * *

The major irregularities pointed out and the important recommendations made in the Inspection Report on the Public Hospital were as follows:

(1) *Ministerial Staff*

A review on broad lines of the general set-up and distribution of duties amongst the ministerial staff revealed that some staff was not being profitably utilised, which, if done, would have been more conducive to the efficiency of the office. The following

suggestions were made for consideration:

- (a) A senior clerk had been given the duties of a record keeper. Those duties were usually performed in other offices by a junior clerk, as they involved not any noting or drafting but only maintenance of files and putting them up along with the reference.
- (b) Two junior clerks were employed on receipt and despatch. The figures for receipt and despatch during the calendar year 1953 were 14,118 and 19,817 respectively. The yardstick laid down by the Government for this item of work was 200-250 letters a day, on the basis of which one junior clerk should have been able to cope with the work, as against the two employed.
- (c) One senior clerk has been allotted the work relating to receipt and issue of stationery, besides some odd jobs. As the work relating to issue of stationery is 'not much', it can, with advantage, be transferred to the General Store Keeper.
- (d) If the junior clerk, so rendered surplus, was given the duty of record keeper, two senior clerks would become available, who should be re-allocated as follows:
 - (i) One senior clerk should be posted to Accounts Section for the maintenance of Service Books, etc. A general review revealed that, in majority of cases, service verifications had been completed up to 1951 only, and in case of staff appointed temporarily and Class IV servants brought on regular establishment, service books/service rolls had yet to be opened. This, being a very important item of work, should be attended to immediately and not allowed to fall into arrears.
 - (ii) The other senior clerk should be entrusted with the work relating to purchase of stores for the hospital as a whole. At the time of the inspection, the preparation of indents, calling of quotations, placing of orders and subsequent accounting was being done by the respective store keepers. The work being split, no proper co-ordination could be ensured, nor could any budgetary control over the expenditure be exercised for want of consolidated

information. To obviate this and other allied difficulties, it was suggested that the work up to the stage of actual supply should be centralised at one place, and a Purchase Section should be set up.

(2) *Accounts Section*

A sum of Rs. 2.50 was stated to be lying unadjusted as it related to a claim on account of refund of cost of bags and was under reference to the Accounts Officer, Rationing and Civil Supplies. The Inspector felt that the matter should be settled finally at an early date as it had been pending since March 1952.

(3) *Register of Valuable Articles*

The Inspector found that ornaments and other valuables, which were recovered from patients for safe deposit by the Sister-in-Charge of the ward, were being entered in a register maintained by her and then passed on to the Cashier for safe custody, who entered them in his own register. The property recovered often included gold and silver ornaments. The latter were passed on by the Sister-in-Charge to the Cashier without being seen or sealed by any gazetted officer. The receipt entries in the register maintained by the Cashier were also not initialled by any officer.

In many cases the Sister-in-Charge had used the words 'yellow metal' for gold ornaments and the same words were being repeated by the Cashier in his register. The Cashier submitted his register to the Medical Superintendent or Deputy Medical Superintendent only when articles were to be returned to the patients or to their heirs. In several cases, cash and ornaments were returned to the claimants of the deceased persons on the certificate of identification of a clerk or sister of the Hospital.

It was, therefore, suggested by the Inspector that articles should be recovered from patients in the presence of Matron or any other gazetted officer and deposited with the Cashier after being sealed in a packet, signed by the officer present and labelled with the name of the person from whom they had been recovered. The Medical Superintendent or the Deputy Medical Superintendent should examine the property at least twice a month and should sign a certificate to that effect in the register. If the

property was found to be deficient or in any way damaged, he should report the matter to the authorities concerned, with names of persons responsible for the loss or damage, for necessary action. The property should also be examined by the officers concerned on receiving or handing over charge and by the Cashier on relief.

The Medical Superintendent or Deputy Medical Superintendent should return the articles to the patients who recover in his presence after obtaining proper receipt from them, but the valuables of the deceased persons should be sent to the Nazarat Officer of Deputy Commissioner's Office for return to the legal heirs on furnishing usual legal proof. An official receipt showing the list of articles, duly signed by the Nazarat Officer, should be obtained and filed separately and be given a serial number which should be quoted in the register against the relevant item.

(4) *Security from Staff*

Security was being taken from the contractors, staff handling cash and stores, and student nurses. The following officials had deposited security to the extent noted against each:

Steward	: Rs. 100
Medical Store Keeper	: Rs. 500
General Store Keeper	: Rs. 200
Linen Store Keeper	: Nil
Pharmacist	: Rs. 1,000
Laboratory Assistant	: Rs. 1,000
Cashier	: Nil

The Linen Store Keeper and the Cashier had not deposited any security to date. The Inspector, therefore, recommended that they should be asked to do so, and further the adequacy of the securities deposited by the first three officials should be re-examined, as they appeared to be low.

(5) *Safes*

There were two safes in the Accounts Section each of which had two keys. One key was kept by the Cashier and the other by the Deputy Medical Superintendent. The whereabouts of the duplicate set of keys was not known, and after the matter was brought to notice, the set was traced from a cupboard in the

Deputy Medical Superintendent's room. To avoid any mishap, the Inspector thought it essential that the second set should have been sealed and placed under proper custody.

(6) *Head Clerk's Office*

(a) *Dak*

The dak of the Hospital was being centrally diarised and despatched, but the disposal of letters was not being shown in the diary register, which was essential to ensure that every letter had been properly dealt with within a reasonable time. Besides, no fortnightly or monthly statements of arrears were being prepared. The Inspector drew attention to these points during the inspection and he was assured that the necessary entries and reports would be made in future.

(b) *Accommodation*

Four quarters were allotted to Public Works Department (P.W.D.) staff who worked on the Hospital boilers. No bills on account of rent, electricity and water charges were being sent to the P.W.D. for effecting the necessary recovery, and it could not, therefore, be ensured whether recovery on this account was being regularly made or not. The Inspector accordingly urged that bills should in future be sent to the P.W.D., and for the past the P.W.D. might be asked to confirm that the necessary recoveries had been made.

(c) *Free Supply of Electricity and Water*

The Registrars, House Surgeons, House Physicians, and Nurses were provided with free accommodation, and were allowed the use of electricity and water without any charge and without any restriction on the quantity consumed. The Inspector felt that such an unlimited concession could be abused, and to avoid any misuse he considered it essential that a ceiling be fixed for free use, and any consumption over and above that limit should be paid for.

Furthermore, the House Surgeons and Physicians and Nurses were provided with furniture, crockery, etc., but no standard scale had been fixed, with reference to which the items delivered could be verified. To ensure that no unauthorised items were issued and the quantity was not in excess of the actual needs, it was suggested in the Inspection Report that a list of essential articles and the scales of provision should be drawn up and got

approved by the State Government.

(7) *Blood Bank*

(a) Donors' Register

The register did not show the quantity of blood taken and the disposal of blood. As a result it was not possible to assess the correctness of the stock.

(b) Register of Discarded Blood

A register was being maintained for the blood discarded, which became time-barred, i.e., more than eight days' old. During January 1954, as many as 74 blood collections were discarded, which appeared to the Inspector to be quite excessive. He, therefore, suggested that the register should be put up for review by the Medical Superintendent and the reasons for discard should be given against each case.

(c) Expendable Store Register

It was noticed that 15 lbs. of ether was lying in stock for over one year, and had not been used at all. The Inspector learnt that this ether was not of any use to the Blood Bank. The Inspector feared that quite an appreciable quantity might have already been lost due to evaporation. He felt that such items could be transferred to the dispensary for use therein rather than kept in stock. The stock should, therefore, be checked and items not required sent to the dispensary.

(8) *Store Accounts*

The past practice had been that the non-expendable stores which were issued for use in the various departments during a year were struck off the stock registers, and the balance carried over to new ledgers every year. As a result of this practice, it was not possible to know the actual number or quantity of any particular item available with the different departments of the Hospital. The Inspector thought that the correct procedure would be not to strike off the stores from the ledger but to show them in a distribution statement. He recommended that action should be taken to re-take on ledger charge all the articles pending with the departments and to show their actual distribution. Detailed instructions regarding the maintenance of store accounts were given by the Inspector to the Store Keepers at the time of inspection.

(9) *General Store Keeper*

(a) There were 78 refills for fire extinguishers on charge in the stock ledger. The Inspector learnt that these were in stock for the past six or seven years and had not been used. It was also gathered that some fire extinguishers, fixed in the Hospital, were not held on charge. The Inspector desired that the position on both the points should be clarified.

(b) *Consumable Stock Ledger*

Lifebuoy soap, Sunlight soap, bar soap, soda, matches, and brasse were generally issued for use in the wards. A scale of issue to each ward had been prescribed in 1951. The Inspector noticed that this scale was not being adhered to, probably due to increase in the requirements resulting from expansion of hospital services. He, therefore, suggested that the minimum requirements of each ward should be worked out afresh and got approved by the Medical Superintendent.

(10) *Furniture Register*

(a) The Inspector found that statements of the existing distribution of furniture in the various wards and departments had not been prepared. He, therefore, urged that immediate action should also be taken to prepare the inventories of each ward and department.

(b) Further, the furniture had not been marked. To facilitate physical checking and to prevent replacement old furniture, etc. the Inspector suggested that all furniture should be marked and numbered.

(c) The Liveries account had also not been kept properly; the cloth issued for sewing and the clothes made therefrom were accounted for on one and the same page of the ledger. The Inspector was of the view that they should be accounted for separately, and an issue voucher should be prepared to show the quantity of cloth issued, the items made therefrom, and the scale per item.

(11) *Steward*

(a) *Income and Expenditure Register*

The Inspector observed that approximately 15 seers of sugar and 8 lbs. of tea were being issued every month for serving tea

Blood Bank but no Government sanction to cover such issues was available. The issue of sugar and tea had been a standing practice for long. As this was a regular issue, the Inspector considered that necessary authorisation of the State Government should be obtained for it.

(b) A contract for the supply of ghee (vegetable no. 1) had been entered into for the previous year. The Inspector discovered that sales tax was being admitted over and above the contract rate, which was irregular. He, therefore, insisted that the overpayment made should be recovered.

(12) *Library*

The Inspector pointed out that in cases where books were lost and cash recovery affected, the loss should be got regularised under orders of the competent authority, and a reference to the receipt number, etc. whereby the amount had been credited, should be quoted. This had not been done in the case of books taken away by Dr. John, for which recovery was stated to have been made.

PART TWO

THE FOLLOW-UP

INITIAL ACTION BY THE M.S.
(July-November 1954)

ON JULY 13, 1954 the Chief Secretary's Office¹ sent a copy of the Inspection Report to the Secretary, Health and Welfare, for information and necessary action. A copy of this Report was forwarded to the Director of Health Services (D.H.S.) with a request that the replies of the M.S., Public Hospital, together with his comments thereon, should be furnished to the State Secretariat. A copy of the Report was sent direct to the M.S. of the Public Hospital and he was asked to send replies to the objections raised in the Report through the Director of Health Services within a fortnight of its receipt. As no reply was received, a reminder was sent after a fortnight by the Chief Secretary's Office to the Director of Health Services. On July 31, 1954 the M.S. of the Hospital addressed a letter to the D.H.S. stating that the Inspection Report had not been received in his office and that a copy might be supplied to enable him to proceed with the matter. On August 11, 1954, the Director of Health Services sent a memorandum to the M.S. of the Hospital asking for the replies. The memorandum was delivered by hand and was marked "Most Immediate". A copy of it was endorsed to the Chief Secretary's Office for information. The Chief Secretary's Office issued a second reminder to the Director of Health Services on September 8, 1954, and a third reminder was issued a month and a half later. It was on November 4, 1954 that the Director of Health Services sent to the Chief Secretary's Office a communication, enclosing the following replies given by the M.S., Public Hospital, on the points raised by the Inspector in his Report, and a copy of the replies was also endorsed to the Secretary, Health and Welfare, for information.

¹ The entire correspondence on behalf of the Chief Secretary was handled by the Inspector of Offices.

REPLIES SENT BY THE M.S.

(November 4, 1954)

Objections

Replies from the M.S.

1. Rearranging the Ministerial Staff

(a) Utilising a junior clerk as a record keeper

Noted.

(b) Placing only one junior clerk on despatch and receipt work

Noted.

(d) (i) Posting one senior clerk to the Accounts Section

Two junior clerks have been given in place of one senior clerk. As soon as another senior clerk is posted, he will be allocated to the Accounts Section.

(ii) Centralisation of all purchases in the Stores Purchase Section and posting one senior clerk for this work

This is being done.

2. Accounts Section—adjustment of Rs. 2.50

The matter is still under correspondence.

3. Register of Valuable Articles—recovery of gold ornaments in the presence of a gazetted

It is not possible to detail a gazetted officer every time and also it is not possible to examine all the sealed property of the patients

*Objections**Replies from the M.S.*

of the valuable articles and the countersigning of the Register by M.S. or Deputy M.S. twice a month

been no complaint against the present system.

4. Obtaining Adequate Security from Staff

The existing securities are based on the orders of the State Government. With the reorganisation of the stores system, the custody of stores will vary from the existing position. Proposals for adequate securities will be submitted on the implementation of the scheme for the reorganisation of the stores department.

5. Safes—sealing of the second set of keys of the safes and placing it under proper custody

Noted.

6. Head Clerk's Office

(a) Dak—entering the letters in the Diary Register and preparation of fortnightly/monthly arrear statements

Noted.

(b) Accommodation for P.W.D. Staff—
sending the rent, electricity and water bills to the P.W.D.

(No reply was given.)

(c) Free Supply of Electricity. Water The House Surgeons, House Physicians and Nurses have been

Objections

Replies from the M.S.

Furniture, etc. to Registrars, House Physicians, etc.

provided with free accommodation and free furniture. The furniture supplied to them does not exceed the scale sanctioned by the State Government. As regards the Registrars, some of them have been supplied with furniture in accordance with the scale and they are being charged rent fixed by the P.W.D. for the same.

The upper limit for the consumption of water and electricity will be worked out and got approved by the State Government, so that any excess over and above this scale will be liability of the House Surgeons or Registrars, as the case may be.

7. Blood Bank

(a) Donors' Register— Noted.

entering details of blood taken and of its disposal

(b) Register of Discarded Blood—reducing wastage and showing reasons for discard in the Register The cases of discarding 74 blood collections are due to the following reasons:

1. A number of samples were contaminated;
2. Some got coagulated due to the refrigerator being out of order; and
3. Some were returned from the wards as they could not be used on the patients.

(c) Expendable Store Register—disposal Being done.

*Objections**Replies from the M.S.*

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| <p>8. Store Accounts—showing the articles available with Hospital departments in distribution list</p> | <p>In view of the fact that reorganisation of different stores and departments is being undertaken, it will not be possible to adopt this method. It will, however, be done in the next financial year.</p> |
| <p>9. General Store Keeper</p> | |
| <p>(a) Fire Extinguishers —use of 78 refills and bringing fire extinguishers on charge</p> | <p>Noted. Necessary action will be taken.</p> |
| <p>(b) Consumable Stock Ledger — working out a new scale for issue</p> | <p>Noted.</p> |
| <p>10. Furniture Register</p> | |
| <p>(a) Preparation of Inventories</p> | <p>Being done.</p> |
| <p>(b) Marking of Furniture</p> | <p>Noted. Action is being taken.</p> |
| <p>(c) Liveries—proper and separate accounting for cloth issued and liveries made thereof</p> | <p>Noted.</p> |
| <p>11. Steward</p> | |
| <p>(a) Income and Expenditure Register—obtaining sanction for issue of tea and sugar for serving tea to doctors in the Operation Theatre</p> | <p>The issue of free tea to the Operation Theatre staff is a practice which is universal in all the hospitals in India and abroad. As desired by the Inspectorate, a case will be put up for sanction by the higher authorities.</p> |

Objections

Replies from the M.S.

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|---|---|
| <p>(b) Vegetable Ghee—</p> <p>admitting sales tax over and above the contract rate</p> | <p>The matter is under consideration of the higher authorities.</p> |
| <p>12. Library—making entries about the recovery made for the books taken away by Dr. John.</p> | <p>Noted for future.</p> |

THE INSPECTORATE ASKS FOR CLARIFICATIONS
(December 1954-March 1955)

On a scrutiny of the replies received, the Inspectorate found that in majority of the cases the action taken had not been specified and only remarks like 'noted' or 'being done' were given. Since these remarks did not make the position clear, the Chief Secretary's Office addressed a letter on January 10, 1955 to the D.H.S. asking for further clarifications. It was emphasised that the M.S. of the Hospital should be requested to specifically state the action that had been taken towards implementing the suggestions made in the Report in order to avoid unnecessary correspondence. A copy of this letter was also endorsed to the Secretary, Health and Welfare, for information.

CLARIFICATIONS SOUGHT BY THE INSPECTORATE
(January 10, 1955)

Objections

- | | |
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| <p>1. (a) & (b)</p> <p>Rearranging the Ministerial Staff</p> | <p>Please state whether the proposed change has been given effect to; if so, from what date?</p> |
| <p>(d) (ii) Purchase Section</p> | <p>Please intimate whether the Purchase Section has been set up; if so, whether the requisite</p> |

Objections

- suggestions made in the Inspection Report in this regard have been complied with. A brief note on the working of this Section may also be furnished.
2. Accounts Section—
adjustment of Rs. 2.50
- The results of the reference made to the Accounts Officer, Rationing and Civil Supplies, may please be intimated.
3. Register of Valuable Articles
- The suggestion with regard to the safe custody and disposal of cash, jewellery and other valuable articles recovered from patients, is based on the Police Rules, 1934, of a neighbouring State as extended to this State, and may be reconsidered for adoption in the Hospital with a view to eliminating all possibilities of misappropriation. The procedure, as it obtains at present, is defective and should not be allowed to continue just because there has fortunately been no complaint so far. It was suggested in the Inspection Report that sealed packets should be examined twice a month and not twice a week as mentioned in the reply.
4. Security from Staff
- The result of the reference to the Government for refixing the security from the staff may be intimated.

Objections

5. Safes

The action taken for the safe custody of the duplicate set of keys of the two safes may please be intimated.

6. Head Clerk's Office

(a) Dak

Please intimate whether the disposal of the letters is being marked in the diary; if so, with effect from what date and whether submission of fortnightly/monthly arrear statement has been ordered:

(b) Accommodation for
P.W.D. Staff

To enable this Inspectorate to give further comments regarding the utility of the maintenance of record on the lines indicated in the Inspection Report, please furnish the following information:

- (i) How, in the absence of proper record, is it ensured that necessary recovery on account of rent has been effected from all the staff occupying Government accommodation, and that necessary changes have been taken into account?
- (ii) In case of quarters which are supplied electricity or water through a common meter, how is it ensured that the amounts due have been recovered correctly?
- (iii) Please confirm that recovery of rent and electric and water charges in

Objections

respect of quarters allotted to P.W.D. staff is being regularly made.

- (c) Free Supply of Electricity, Water, Furniture, etc. to Registrars, House Physicians, etc. The scale of provision of free furniture to House Surgeons, House Physicians and Nurses, as approved by the State Government, was not made available at the time of inspection. A copy of this may now please be furnished. As regards the fixing of upper limit for the consumption of water and electricity, please intimate whether the same has been fixed; if so, the basis on which it has been prescribed may also please be specified.

7. Blood Bank

- (a) Blood Donors' Register

Please intimate whether the Register as suggested, is being maintained; if so, from what month?

- (b) Register of Discarded Blood

Please state whether the Register of Discarded Blood is being put up for review by the M.S. at the end of each month.

9. General Store Keeper

- (a) Fire Extinguishers

The position with regard to the fire extinguishers fixed in the Hospital and the reasons for not accounting them in the stock-book may be stated.

- (b) Consumable Stock Ledger

Please intimate whether the new scale of issue of consumable stores has been drawn up and

Objections

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| | approved by competent authority; if so, a copy of the same may be furnished for reference. |
| 10. Furniture Register | |
| (a) Preparation of Inventories | Please intimate whether the requisite distribution statement and inventories for each ward and department have since been prepared. |
| (b) Marking of Furniture | Please intimate whether numbering and marking of furniture has been completed. |
| 11. Steward | |
| (a) Income and Expenditure Register—free issue of tea and sugar | The final decision of the Government may please be communicated. |
| (b) Vegetable Ghee | |
| 12. Library—Dr. John | The number and date of relevant Chalan or Receipt, under which the cost of books, taken away by Dr. John, was credited, may be intimated. |

The request for these clarifications was followed up three weeks later by a reminder by the Chief Secretary's Office. A week after that, the D.H.S. addressed a memorandum to the M.S. of the Hospital to send the replies immediately, and endorsed a copy thereof to the Chief Secretary's Office for information. Nearly a month after the first reminder, the Chief Secretary's Office reminded the D.H.S. a second time and a third reminder followed ten days later. On March 24, 1955, four days after the receipt of the last reminder, the D.H.S. sent to the Chief Secretary's Office a statement containing the replies of the M.S. of the Hospital to the various objections raised in the Inspection Report. Along with the statement were enclosed copies of two

letters—one from the Secretary, Local Self-Government, to the Director of Health Services, regarding the scale of furniture authorised to the House Surgeons, etc. and the second from the Under Secretary, Health and Welfare, to the D.H.S. regarding the supply of vegetable ghee.

REPLIES OF THE M.S.

(March 24, 1955)

<i>Objections</i>	<i>Replies from the M.S.</i>	<i>Remarks of the D.H.S.</i>
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1. (a) & (b)

Rearranging
the Ministerial
Staff

The procedure suggested by the Inspectorate involved a reorganisation of the entire office. This has been held up, as several vacancies of clerks have not yet been filled by the Central Staff Selection Committee. It is now proposed to fill up these vacancies as a temporary measure pending final selection and to give effect to the reorganisation scheme of the main office in accordance with the recommendations made in the Inspection Report.

No further
remarks.

(d) (ii) Purchase Section

The Purchase Section has started functioning with effect from September 1954, and the necessary registers are being maintained by that Section. Quotations are being called by the Section and

No further
remarks.

Objections

Replies from the M.S. Remarks of the
D.H.S.

comparative statements are being made and submitted to the officer concerned for approval.

2. Accounts

Section—

adjustment of
Rs. 2.50

As the Rationing Department has since been abolished, the amount of Rs. 2.50 cannot be recovered. The matter has been referred to the D.H.S. for writing off the amount.

Sanction of the State Government has been applied for.

3. Register of
Valuable
Articles

It is not possible for a gazetted officer or Deputy Medical Superintendent to be present at the time of the recovery of these articles because the patients are received at all odd hours. Besides, the actual life-saving measures in the case of emergencies take precedence over all formalities of recoveries and accounting of the valuable possessions of the patient. Therefore, the procedure suggested in the Inspection Report, though eminently suitable in the case of Police Department, is unworkable in the

*Objections**Replies from the M.S.**Remarks of the
D.H.S.*

Hospital. After reconsidering the whole matter, the following procedure is proposed to be adopted and is requested for approval:

“The nurse in charge of the ward will recover all the valuables from the patient as soon after admission as possible. She will make a list of these articles in duplicate and affix her signature on the list together with a thumb impression of the patient or his attendant. If the patient is unconscious and has no attendant, the list will be signed by the medical officer on duty. The recovered articles, together with one copy of the list, will be put in an envelope and sealed by the nurse in the presence of the House Surgeon who will sign on the envelope that the articles in accordance with the list were verified and sealed in his presence. The nurse will send the sealed envelope, with the duplicate list, to the Deputy M.S. who will countersign and take the

The proposal as suggested may please be approved.

Objections

Replies from the M.S.

*Remarks of the
D.H.S.*

articles on charge in the Register of Valuable Articles. The sealed envelope will be inspected by the Deputy M.S. once a month."

4. Security from Staff

The general rule, on the basis of which the security deposits are to be taken from the staff handling the stores in various hospitals in the State may be laid down by the Secretariat. The present position will be reviewed for refixation of the securities in the light of the rules so prescribed.

5. Safes

The keys duly sealed and labelled have been kept with the M.S. in his steel cupboard.

6. Head Clerk's Office

(a) Dak

This will be done after the reorganisation scheme of the main office is completed before the end of the current financial year.

(b) Accommodation for P.W.D. Staff

(i) A list of individuals who are in occupation of Government quarters in the

*Objections**Replies from the M.S.**Remarks of the
D.H.S.*

Hospital is maintained and a recovery of 10% of the pay towards rent is effected from them every month.

(ii) The common meter for the supply of electricity exists only for House Surgeons and Registrars who are entitled to free electricity and water supply under the terms of their appointment.

(iii) The question of recovery of rent and electricity and water charges is still under correspondence with the P.W.D.

(c) Free Supply It is not possible to fix any limit for the consumption of electricity and water allowed free of charge to the nursing staff. However, enquiries are being made from the House, Registrars, etc. to see if any limit has been fixed for such free use; if so, on what basis and with what ceiling?

<i>Objections</i>	<i>Replies from the M.S.</i>	<i>Remarks of the D.H.S.</i>
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7. Blood Bank

(a) Blood Donors' Register	The required registers have been started with effect from February 2, 1955.
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(b) Register of Discarded Blood	Yes.
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9. General Store Keeper

(a) Fire Extinguishers	The fire extinguishers were not shown in the books from the very beginning, i.e., since the establishment of the Hospital. These have now been accounted for and shown in the accounts book.
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(b) Consumable Stock Ledger	It has been done.
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10. Furniture Register

(b) Marking of Furniture	Every effort is being made to complete the marking by April 1, 1955.
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11. Steward

(a) Income and Expenditure Register—free issue of tea and sugar

Proposals from the M.S. are awaited.

<i>Objections</i>	<i>Replies from the M.S.</i>	<i>Remarks of the D.H.S.</i>
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(b) Vegetable Ghee	This has been settled (vide letter from Secretary, Health and Welfare, dated September 14, 1954).	
12. Library— Dr. John	No recovery could be made as the doctor had already left the country.	

THE MATTER IS TAKEN UP WITH THE SECRETARIAT DEPARTMENT
(April-July 1955)

Finding that some of the replies given by the M.S. were inadequate and unsatisfactory, the Inspectorate pursued the matter further. On April 18, 1955, the Chief Secretary's Office addressed the D.H.S. for some additional information. A copy was endorsed to the Secretary, Health and Welfare.

On the same day, the Chief Secretary's Office sent an Un-Official (U.O.) note direct to the Secretary, Health and Welfare, for expediting action in regard to objection No. 3—Register of Valuable Articles, and objection No. 6—Free Supply of Water, Electricity, etc. A reminder to the U.O. note followed a fortnight later. The Secretary, Health and Welfare, replied on May 19, 1955, two weeks after the reminder, that the matter was receiving attention in consultation with the D.H.S. and that a further communication would follow as soon as a decision had been arrived at. The Chief Secretary's Office waited for this communication for seven weeks and then issued a fresh reminder.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION ASKED FOR BY THE INSPECTORATE
(April 18, 1955)

Objections

1. (a) & (b)

Rearranging the
Ministerial Staff

It has been stated that the vacancies are being filled up. It is presumed that the necessary changes have by

Objections

- now been made; if so, the same may please be confirmed.
2. Accounts Section—
adjustment of
Rs. 2.50 A copy of the sanction accorded by the competent authority for the write off of the amount of Rs. 2.50 may be furnished when received.
 3. Register of
Valuable Articles The position is being examined, and a further communication will follow.
 4. Security from Staff In this connection reference may be made to Paragraph 274 of the General Financial Rules, Vol. I, in accordance with which the amount of security is to be regulated according to the circumstances and local conditions in each case. In view of this, it is requested that the D.H.S. may examine the overall position of the staff handling stores and cash in its various establishments and suggest the amount of security to be taken in each case.
 6. Head Clerk's Office
 - (b) Accommodation for P.W.D. Staff The result of the reference to the P.W.D., regarding recovery of the rent from its staff occupying quarters in the Hospital may please be intimated.
 - (c) Free Supply of Electricity, Water, Furniture, etc. to Registrars, House Physicians, etc. The result of the reference to other hospitals in this respect may please be intimated.
 9. General Store Keeper
 - (b) Consumable Stock Ledger The details of action taken regarding this item may please be intimated.

Objections

10. Furniture Register

(b) Marking of
Furniture

Please intimate whether the marking of the furniture has been completed or not.

12. Library—Dr. John

At the time of inspection it was learnt that the cost of books, taken away by Dr. John, had been recovered from him but it has now been stated that no recovery could be made. As no recovery has been made, necessary action may please be taken to have this and other similar losses regularised under orders of the State Government. Action taken in this regard may please be intimated.

Two weeks after the request for additional information, the Chief Secretary's Office asked the D.H.S. to expedite the reply. A week later, the D.H.S. sent a memorandum to the M.S. of the Hospital requesting him to furnish the information at an early date, and endorsed a copy of it to the Chief Secretary's Office for information. The Chief Secretary's Office issued a second reminder to the D.H.S. five weeks after the first reminder and a third reminder a month later. On July 14, 1955, two days after the last reminder, the D.H.S. transmitted the replies of the M.S. to each of the points raised by the Inspector. He also endorsed a copy of the letter from the Secretary, Local Self-Government, to the M.S. of the Hospital regarding the free furnished quarters allotted to the House Surgeons.

REPLIES OF THE M.S.

(July 14, 1955)

Objections

*Replies from the M.S. Remarks of the
D.H.S.*

1. (a) & (b)

Rearranging the
Ministerial Staff

A junior clerk has been
placed in the Records

Objections

*Replies from the M.S. Remarks of the
D.H.S.*

- Section and the senior clerk has been given duties of drafting, etc. Of the two clerks in the Receipt and Despatch, only one clerk is placed on the Despatch, whereas the receipt work is being done by the Enquiry Clerk in addition to other duties.
2. Accounts Section —adjustment of Rs. 2.50 The matter is under correspondence with the D.H.S. No final decision has so far been arrived at.
4. Security from Staff The action is to be taken by the D.H.S. The matter is under consideration.
6. Head Clerk's Office
- (b) Accommodation for P.W.D. Staff The matter is being pursued with the P.W.D.
- (c) Free Supply of Electricity, Water, Furniture, etc. to Registrars, House Physicians, etc. The information received from other hospitals regarding free supply of electricity and water is being compiled and proposals are being formulated for submission to the Government. A reference would follow separately.
9. General Store Keeper
- (b) Consumable A new scale, as

<i>Objections</i>	<i>Replies from the M.S.</i>	<i>Remarks of the D.H.S.</i>
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Stock Ledger	advised, is being laid down.
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10. Furniture Register

(b) Marking of Furniture	A portion of the work has been completed.
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12. Library—
Dr. John

Dr. John drew his pay up to the end of August 1947. He fled away from the Hospital during the communal disturbances, and appears to have worked for a number of days in September 1947 for which no salary was drawn by him. The question of making necessary adjustment is being looked into and a reply will follow.

A FRESH REQUEST FOR CLARIFICATIONS
(August-December 1955)

Not fully satisfied with the explanations given by the D.H.S., the Chief Secretary's Office asked for further clarifications on August 5, 1955. A copy of this letter was, as usual, endorsed to the Secretary, Health and Welfare, for information.

The Chief Secretary's Office also sent in the second week of August a third reminder to the Secretary, Health and Welfare, for his expediting the reply to its U.O. note of April 18, 1955, about the objections relating to the Register of Valuable Articles and free supply of electricity, water, etc. Three further reminders followed at intervals of about four weeks, three weeks, and two weeks respectively.

FURTHER CLARIFICATIONS SOUGHT BY
THE INSPECTORATE
(August 5, 1955)

Objections

1. (a) & (b)

Rearranging the
Ministerial Staff

It was pointed out earlier that on the basis of the yardstick prescribed by the Government, one junior clerk is quite sufficient to do both Diary and Despatch work as against two employed at the time of inspection. As suggested, one Lower Division Clerk (L.D.C.) should have been put in charge of Diary and Despatch work. This may please be done now, and if the job of the Enquiry Clerk is not whole-time, he may be given some other work in addition to his own duty.

2. Accounts Section—
adjustment of
Rs. 2.50

A copy of the letter of the competent authority writing off the loss of Rs. 2.50 may be supplied, when received.

4. Security from Staff

The D.H.S. is requested to settle at an early date, with the approval of the State Government, the question of obtaining securities from the subordinate staff entrusted with the custody of cash and stores.

6. Head Clerk's Office

(b) Accommodation
for P.W.D. Staff

The P.W.D. may be reminded and the matter be decided at a very early date to avoid accumulation of arrears.

(c) Free Supply of
Electricity,

A copy of the reference made to the Government and its decision may

Objections

Water, Furniture, please be supplied to the Inspecto-
etc. to Registrars, rate.

House Physicians,
etc.

11. Steward

(a) Income and
Expenditure
Register—free
issue of tea and
sugar

The result of the reference made to other hospitals with regard to the supply of tea and sugar to doctors in the Operation Theatre may please be intimated.

The issue of sugar and tea leaves for preparing tea for blood donors is not covered by any sanction and requires regularisation which should be done. This question has nothing to do with the reorganisation of the system of Blood Bank.

12. Library—Dr. John

The result of enquiry made in connection with the recovery of cost of books taken away by Dr. John may please be intimated.

The request for clarifications was followed up by reminders after the lapse of five, eight, and fourteen weeks. The D.H.S. sent the replies of the M.S. on December 7, 1955, about four weeks after the issue of the last reminder. It also furnished copy of an office circular, issued in the middle of April 1955 about the procedure to be followed regarding the safe custody of the valuables of the patients.

REPLIES BY THE M.S.

(December 7, 1955)

Objections

*Replies from the M.S. Remarks of the
D.H.S.*

1. (a) & (b)

Rearranging the
Ministerial

The work of the Re- In view of the
ceipt was entrusted to circumstances

Objections

Replies from the M.S.

Remarks of the D.H.S.

Staff	the Despatch Clerk in addition to his own, as advised by the Inspectorate. It was, however, found after some time that one clerk was not able to perform both the duties satisfactorily. Therefore, the clerk in the Enquiry, who had some spare time, was entrusted with the Receipt work.	explained, the objection may please be dropped.
2. Accounts Section—adjustment of Rs. 2.50	A copy of the sanction will be sent when received.	The matter is under correspondence with the State Government.
4. Security from Staff	No remarks, as it refers to the D.H.S.	The matter is receiving attention.
6. Head Clerk's Office		
(b) Accommodation for P.W.D. Staff	The matter is being pursued with the P.W.D. authorities.	
(c) Free Supply of Electricity, Water, Furniture, etc. to Registrars,	The case has been sent to the higher authorities and the decision arrived at will be communicated in due course.	

<i>Objections</i>	<i>Replies from the M.S</i>	<i>Remarks of the D.H.S.</i>
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House Physi-
cians, etc.

11. Steward

- (a) Income and Expenditure Register— free issue of tea and sugar

A reference is being made to the State Government and the reply will be sent as soon as a decision is arrived at.

12. Library—
Dr. John

The approximate cost of books taken away by Dr. John is Rs. 27.25. Dr. John was not paid nine days' pay as House Surgeon during the month of September 1947 which comes to Rs. 28.50. The cost of the books will be adjusted against the dues of Dr. John.

Further views in the matter may please be intimated.

THE INSPECTORATE PURSUES ITS EFFORTS
(January-December 1956)

The matter was further pursued as follows by the Chief Secretary's Office regarding the outstanding objections under its letter of January 3, 1956:

QUERIES BY THE INSPECTORATE
(January 3, 1956)

Objections

4. Security from Staff

The question of obtaining adequate securities from the subordinate staff entrusted with the custody of cash and stores, as provided under Paragraph 274 of the General

Objections

Financial Rules, Vol. I, may please be settled with the approval of the State Government immediately.

6. Head Clerk's Office

(b) Accommodation
for P.W.D. Staff

The result of the reference made to the P.W.D. regarding the recovery of rent from its staff occupying quarters in the Hospital may please be intimated, as the earlier reply is silent on this point.

(c) Free Supply of
Electricity,
Water, Furniture,
etc. to Registrars,
House Physicians,
etc.

The reply is not clear. It may please be stated as to whom the reference has been made and with what results?

10. Furniture Register

(b) Marking of
Furniture

The marking of the furniture, etc. when completed, may please be intimated.

12. Library—Dr. John

The cost of the books taken away by Dr. John may please be adjusted against his dues as proposed.

Towards the end of February 1956, a reminder was issued from the Chief Secretary's Office to the D.H.S. Nearly a week after this reminder, a memorandum was addressed by the D.H.S. to the M.S. of the Hospital for expediting the reply and a copy of it was also endorsed to the Chief Secretary's Office. The latter reminded the D.H.S. again six weeks after the first reminder. A third reminder followed three weeks later. Ten days after that, the D.H.S. addressed a Demi-Official (D.O.) letter to the M.S. of the Hospital drawing attention to his earlier memorandum and requesting him to expedite the replies to the outstanding objections. A copy of this D.O. letter was also sent

to the Chief Secretary's Office for information. Nearly three weeks after the third reminder, the Chief Secretary's Office reminded the D.H.S. a fourth time and after waiting for nearly another seven weeks, a fifth reminder followed. Twelve days later, in the last week of July 1956, the D.H.S. sent a second D.O. letter, this time to the A.M.S. of the Hospital, stating that he would be grateful if the A.M.S. would personally look into the matter and expedite the replies. It was also endorsed to the Chief Secretary's Office for information. On August 11, 1956—about 31 weeks after the request for clarifications was made—the D.H.S. sent to the Chief Secretary's Office a statement showing the latest position regarding the outstanding items of the Inspection Report. To the statement were attached copies of two letters—one from the D.H.S. to the Secretary, Health and Welfare, regarding the free use of electricity and water by the Nurses, House Surgeons and Physicians which was under consideration; and the second from the M.S. of the Hospital to D.H.S. regarding the enquiry made about the maintenance of the Register of Valuable Articles in the big hospitals of other States.

REPLIES SENT BY THE M.S.

(August 11, 1956)

Objections

Replies from the M.S.

- | | |
|------------------------------------|---|
| 3. Register of Valuable Articles | A copy of the letter, dated November 2, 1955, from the Directorate of Health Services, addressed to the Secretary, Health and Welfare, is enclosed. |
| 4. Security from Staff | A separate note is being submitted to the Secretary, Health and Welfare. |
| 6. Head Clerk's Office | |
| (b) Accommodation for P.W.D. Staff | The P.W.D. authorities have assessed the electric and water charges for the quarters in question and the amount is being adjusted accordingly. |

Objections

Replies from the M.S.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>(c) Free Supply of Electricity, Water, Furniture, etc. to Registrars, House Physicians, etc.</p> | <p>A reference has been made to the Secretary, Health and Welfare. No decision has so far been arrived at in the matter. A second reminder is being issued.</p> |
| <p>10. Furniture Register</p> | |
| <p>(b) Marking of Furniture</p> | <p>The furniture received during the current year has not so far been marked.</p> |
| <p>11. Steward</p> | |
| <p>(a) Income and Expenditure Register—free issue of tea and sugar</p> | <p>The matter is still under correspondence. No decision has so far been arrived at.</p> |
| <p>12. Library—</p> | |
| <p>Dr. John</p> | <p>The amount has been adjusted against the dues of Dr. John.</p> |

Six weeks later, the Chief Secretary's Office approached the D.H.S. with the following queries:

QUERIES BY THE INSPECTORATE
(September 26, 1956)

Objections

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>3. Register of Valuable Articles</p> | <p>The decision of the State Government in the matter may be intimated as and when received.</p> |
| <p>4. Security from Staff</p> | |
| <p>—do—</p> | |
| <p>6. Head Clerk's Office</p> | |
| <p>(b) Accommodation for P.W.D. Staff</p> | <p>No reply to this point has been given. This may be done now.</p> |
| <p>(c) Free Supply of</p> | <p>The decision of the State</p> |

Objections

Electricity, Water, Furniture, etc. to Regis- trars, House Physicians, etc.	Government in the matter, as and when received, may be intimated to the Inspectorate.
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10. Furniture Register

(b) Marking of
Furniture

The marking of the furniture should
be completed as soon as possible
and the compliance reported to the
Inspectorate.

11. Steward

(a) Income and Ex-
penditure Regis-
ter—free issue of
tea and sugar

The decision in the matter, as and
when arrived at, may be intimated to
the Inspectorate.

As no reply was received from the D.H.S. nearly for a month, he was reminded by the Chief Secretary's Office. Within three days of the reminder, the D.H.S. replied that in most cases the matter was still under consideration of the State Government.

REPLIES OF THE M.S.

(November 23, 1956)

*Objections*3. Register of Valuable
Articles

A reminder to the Secretary, Health
and Welfare, has been issued request-
ing him to expedite the decision.

4. Security from Staff

The matter is under consideration
of the Secretary, Health and Welfare.

6. Head Clerk's Office

(b) Accommodation
for P.W.D. Staff

No reply can be given as the refer-
ence is not complete.

(c) Free Supply of
Electricity,

Sanction of the State Government
has not so far been received.

Objections

Water, Furniture,
etc. to Registrars,
House Physicians,
etc.

10. Furniture Register

- (b) Marking of Furniture A reply will follow in due course.

11. Steward

- (a) Income and Expenditure Register—free issue of tea and sugar No decision has so far been arrived at.

THE OBJECTIONS PENDING
AT THE SECRETARIAT LEVEL
(December 1956-December 1957)

On December 11, 1956, the Chief Secretary's Office asked the D.H.S. to expedite the replies regarding the remaining objections pending at the Secretariat level, and also requested him to approach the Secretary, Health and Welfare, in that connection. (Specific objections were not, however, pointed out in this letter.) On January 17, 1957, the D.H.S. wrote to the Secretary, Health and Welfare, regarding the free supply of furniture to the House Surgeons and Physicians and endorsed a copy of the letter to the Chief Secretary's Office for information. The Secretary, Health and Welfare, in the meanwhile, had also approached the Ministry of Health, Government of India, regarding the free facilities enjoyed by the House Surgeons and Physicians in hospitals under the Central Government. The Secretary, Health and Welfare, replied to the D.H.S. on August 18, 1957, that the objection regarding the supply of tea in the Operation Theatre of the Hospital had been dropped by the State Government.

After awaiting nearly seven months, the Chief Secretary's Office sent on July 11, 1957, a reminder to the D.H.S. for his expediting the replies to the remaining outstanding issues like the free supply of furniture, etc. to the House Surgeons and Physicians. A

fortnight later, the D.H.S. addressed a D.O. letter to the M.S. of the Hospital, with an endorsement to the Chief Secretary's Office, requesting the M.S. to send the replies immediately. The Chief Secretary's Office sent a second reminder to the D.H.S. eight weeks after the first. The D.H.S. sent the detailed replies to the pending objections on December 4, 1957—three weeks after the second reminder. Copies of the relevant letters concerning sanctions, etc. were also furnished.

REPLIES OF THE M.S.

(December 4, 1957)

Objections

- | | |
|--|--|
| 4. Security from Staff | Instructions to take the securities from the persons handling cash and stores have since been issued to the various departments of the Hospital. |
| 6. Head Clerk's Office | |
| (b) Accommodation for P.W.D. Staff | A reply will follow as soon as the final action is taken in the matter. |
| (c) Free Supply of Electricity, Water, Furniture, etc. to Registrars, House Physicians, etc. | Sanction of the Government has since been received and a copy of it is enclosed. |
| 10. Furniture Register | |
| (b) Marking of Furniture | A further reference will be made in due course. |
| 11. Steward | |
| (a) Income and Expenditure Register—free issue of tea and sugar | The matter has been finalised. A copy of the letter dated April 18, 1957, on the subject from the Secretary, Health and Welfare, was endorsed to the Inspectorate. |

A NEW INSPECTOR TAKES CHARGE

At this stage, a change took place in the incumbent of the post of the Inspector. The new Inspector, who took over, was a person with a different background than his predecessor. He had, for a long time, worked with high officials as their Personal Assistant. He brought with him a fresh outlook towards inspection. He considered inspection as a positive and helpful instrument in bringing about an improvement in the efficiency of the organisation rather than a negative and fault-finding device to enforce rules and regulations rigidly. The new Inspector considered it as one of his jobs to help the Hospital Administration to set right the irregularities in the matter of office procedure and to be generally helpful in regard to the improved working of the Hospital office organisation. He believed that it was essential to win over the co-operation and confidence of the higher authorities of the Hospital for removing the difficulties which were impeding compliance with rules and regulations.

THE SETTLEMENT OF THE OUTSTANDING OBJECTIONS

(March 1958-April 1960)

In the second week of March 1958, the Chief Secretary's Office took up the matter again with the D.H.S. He was requested to explain the position in regard to the outstanding objections (these were, however, not listed). The D.H.S. was duly reminded a month later. A fortnight after the receipt of the reminder, the D.H.S. addressed a memorandum on the subject to the M.S., endorsing a copy to the Chief Secretary's Office.

It may be noted at this stage that the Office of the Director of Health Services was abolished at the end of May 1958 and thereafter the Chief Secretary's Office entered into direct correspondence with the M.S. of the Hospital who now became the Head of Department. His powers of sanction consequently increased correspondingly.

* * *

On August 8, 1958, the Chief Secretary's Office received the endorsement of a letter, addressed to the M.S. of the Hospital, stating that the House Surgeons and Physicians had been allowed free supply of furniture, including a rug.

Early in February 1959, the Chief Secretary's Office sent a fresh reminder to the M.S. of the Hospital requesting him to clarify at an early date the position regarding the outstanding objections.

The M.S. of the Hospital replied after nearly four weeks and enclosed a copy of a letter of May 13, 1958, from the D.H.S. The letter stated that the marking of furniture had been completed.

The Chief Secretary's Office addressed a fresh communication on March 9, 1959, enquiring whether the remaining outstanding objections, viz., item nos. (3)—Register of Valuable Articles; (4)—Security from Staff; and (6) (b)—Accommodation for P.W.D. Staff, had been regularised. In his reply, sent four weeks later, the M.S. of the Hospital referred to the copy of the letter of March 5, 1957, from the Secretary, Health and Welfare, to the D.H.S. sanctioning the procedure for the maintenance of the Register of Valuable Articles and further observed that the remaining two objections were under consideration. In the last week of June 1959, the Chief Secretary's Office asked the M.S. of the Public Hospital for a copy of the circular regarding the maintenance of the Register of Valuable Articles. This copy was supplied by the M.S. within a fortnight.

The Chief Secretary's Office took up again, on November 6, 1959, the question of the remaining two objections, viz., item nos. (4)—Security from Staff; and (6) (b)—Accommodation for P.W.D. Staff. The M.S. of the Hospital replied, nearly after a fortnight, that (a) the security had already been deposited by the persons concerned except the Cashier, and (b) the objection relating to the provision of accommodation to the P.W.D. Staff had been settled and necessary recoveries were being made directly by the P.W.D.

A month later, on December 18, 1959, the Chief Secretary's Office wrote to the M.S. of the Hospital that according to the provisions of paragraph 274 of the General Financial Rules, Vol. I, security was a prerequisite for the Cashier. The exact amount should be determined with the approval of the State Government and the security should be taken from the Cashier without further delay. The M.S. of the Hospital was reminded after about fifteen weeks. The M.S. of the Hospital replied on April 26, 1960, nearly three weeks and a half after the

reminder, that the Cashier had furnished a Fidelity Bond of Rs. 5,000.

* * *

With this, the correspondence between the Chief Secretary's Office and the M.S. came to a close, as all the objections pointed out in the Inspection Report had been attended to.

PART THREE

THE NEXT INSPECTION

THE PUBLIC HOSPITAL was inspected again in the Spring of 1960, this time by the new Inspector. After making courtesy calls on all concerned, the new Inspector had personal discussions with the senior officers to find out what they themselves thought was not well with the administration of the Hospital and what difficulties they were experiencing in their efforts to improve its working. Individual Sections were then inspected and deficiencies in regard to compliance with the prescribed procedures and rules were indicated; ways and methods to remove these deficiencies were also explained. As the inspection proceeded, observations on the actual state of affairs were communicated from day to day in the form of U.O. (Un-Official) notes to the M.S. to apprise him of the position and enable him to initiate remedial action then and there. The practicability of the suggestions made was discussed at each stage with the M.S. and the officers concerned so that these could be reshaped or modified, in the light of the difficulties pointed out by the M.S., to avoid confusion and controversy at later stages. At the end of the inspection all the recommendations which could not be attended to during the period of inspection were, before incorporating them in the final report, discussed personally with officers concerned and the M.S. so as to win their support.

* * *

The Inspection Report was divided into two parts; one covering all important aspects of the general working of the Hospital (including important procedural matters); and second, detailed notes on the working of different Sections of the Hospital. It may be noted that the duties of the Inspectorate, in regard to the offices and departments to be inspected, included, "to look into the general working to improve their efficiency".

Some of the important recommendations regarding the improvement of the general working of the Hospital, made in

the first part of the Report, were as follows:

1. Obtaining paid blood donors from rural areas; launching an educational drive to allay fears and apprehensions of the illiterate masses towards donating blood.
2. Building up a reserve stock of six months' requirements of medicines; sanction for the purchase of medicines to be obtained in a consolidated form to avoid delays; enhancement of powers of local purchase; declaring the Medical Superintendent as Administrative Secretary to speed up sanctions.
3. Improving the procedure for quicker issue of medicines from stores by setting up a 24-hour sub-store service, revising Pharmacopia at suitable intervals, and making arrangements for prescription of alternative medicines for those out of stock.
4. Arrangements for ensuring that food is hot when it reaches the patients in the Wards in winter; and posting a House Surgeon on duty to attend to the enquiries from patients' relatives during visiting hours.
5. Relieving the Superintendent of Nursing Services of clerical work relating to Nurses' Mess and Hostel by transferring it to the Steward's Section; increase in the strength of nursing staff to the prescribed standard; and creation of posts of supervisory nursing sisters to ensure better supervision over student nurses.
6. Arrangements in medico-legal cases for simultaneous provision of medical aid and examination by the Police Surgeon.
7. Reduction in routine tests' work of Laboratory and X-Ray Departments.
8. Adequate staffing of the Casualty Department.
9. Provision of a qualified statistician in the Registration Section.
10. Higher pay-scales for laboratory assistants/technicians, radiographers and physiotherapists.
11. Leave reserve for Class IV staff; streamlining of their duty roster.
12. Creation of intermediary senior posts for physicians to prevent stagnation.
13. Preparation of a Reorganisation Scheme covering both

staff and organisational requirements.

In preparing his Report, the Inspector took special care to see that it did not contain anything that was likely to give offence to the Hospital administration. He not only thanked the Hospital authorities for the co-operation given by them during the inspection but also tried to give them due credit for their internal efforts to improve the general administration of the Hospital. For instance, regarding the working of a certain section, the Inspector remarked that "the working of the... (section) was not as satisfactory as the Hospital authorities (themselves) would like it to be".

The implementation of the recommendations made by the Inspector started during the process of the inspection itself, and before the inspection was over several procedural deficiencies had been attended to. The Report was sent by the Chief Secretary's Office directly to the M.S. of the Public Hospital who was also now, as Head of the Department, responsible for follow-up action.

COMMENTS

FROM JULY 13, 1954, when the first Inspector submitted his Report, to April 26, 1960, when the M.S. of the Hospital sent his last reply, there lapsed a period of about five years and nine months. While the first Inspector concentrated his attention mostly on sending official communications to the Director of Health Services, and also addressed the Secretary, Health and Welfare, on a few issues, the second Inspector entered into direct correspondence with the Public Hospital, the Office of the Director of Health Services having been abolished. It appears that the stream of reminders, which were issued from the Office of the Chief Secretary, did not secure serious attention from the higher authorities of the Public Hospital who were constantly preoccupied with matters much more important than the routine objections raised in the Inspection Report. The proposal made by the Hospital authorities for the creation of the post of an Administrative Officer some time earlier did not find favour with the State Government.

Moreover, the Hospital authorities did not regard the Inspector as a person of status high enough to be seriously taken note of. They even doubted his competence to improve the working of the Hospital because of their innate conviction that a generalist could not fully comprehend the difficulties facing the hospital administration. The Inspector's Report, they felt, did not take into account the environments and the conditions under which the Medical Administrator had to work. Again, as men of medical profession, they were more concerned about extending the scale and improving the quality of hospital services for the treatment of patients in the Hospital. They could find little time to attend fully to paper work and matters of procedure, e.g., keeping of registers, etc. They strongly felt that the Inspector's suggestions about the posting of one clerk here and another there and other minor matters had very little to do with the care and welfare of the patients which was the primary role and responsibility of the medical authorities.

On the other hand, the Inspectorate all along held that it had a responsibility of ensuring economy and efficiency in hospital

administration, through insistence upon fuller observance of rules, correct accounting and maintenance of different registers and records of stores, etc. While the Hospital authorities were not, for reasons and difficulties of their own, able to fully appreciate the point of view of the Inspectorate, the latter felt that it could not divest itself of responsibility entrusted to it for overseeing that rules, regulations and procedures were followed correctly in the interest of both economy and efficiency. This was also thought essential for considerations of stability in administration, as the continuance of irregularities might aggravate forces tending towards administrative disruption.

* * *

The long time taken in regularisation of the objections raised by the Inspector in his Report was, perhaps, partly due to the organisational relationship which had been evolved in regard to the follow-up action on the Inspector's Report. While the Office of the Chief Secretary sent a copy of the Inspector's Report to the Secretary, Health and Welfare, and also took up with him the question of regularisation of a few major objections, it mostly corresponded directly with the Director of Health Services. The Director of Health Services every time asked the M.S. of the Public Hospital about the action which had been taken to remedy the irregularities and remove the objections pointed out by the Inspector. The authority for regularisation of many of the objections was, however, Secretary, Health and Welfare, acting under the overall direction of the Chief Secretary. This was rather a very cumbersome procedure—actions starting from the Chief Secretary's Office, moving from the M.S. to the D.H.S. and then to the Secretary, Health and Welfare, and from him back to the Chief Secretary. The delay in rectifying the irregularities on the part of the Hospital authorities was partly, perhaps, also due to the limited financial powers enjoyed by them; for several items they had to go up to the Secretary, Health and Welfare, for his authorisation. The administrative climate during the period 1954-58, when the entire administration of the State was in the process of reorganisation, was not conducive to sustained attention being paid to minor matters like those taken up by the Inspector in his Report.

Again, no intra-departmental or inter-departmental meetings seem to have been suggested or held to discuss the difficulties in correcting the irregularities. The Inspectorate functioned mostly without establishing any direct liaison with the higher administrative authorities of the Hospital or soliciting their co-operation and support. There was a subsequent feeling among the Hospital authorities that the Inspectorate organisation could have saved a lot of time of all concerned if the first Inspector had taken the trouble to discuss his objections and recommendations with the then Medical Superintendent who would have carefully looked into them and readily told him what could be implemented and what could not be done under the conditions then existing.

The impact of the more helpful and positive attitude and approach of the new Inspector was not felt till the inspection made in the Spring of 1960. The new Inspector had quite a different conception about his duties and about the objects and nature of inspection. His techniques too were different; and, more important than that, were his social or human skills. These factors gave quite a different orientation to the inspection process and to his recommendations.

The Case also highlights the problem of the effectiveness of the 'technical' administrator in looking after the administration of a 'technical' governmental organisation, unaided by a generalist-administrator. In this connection, the following observations made in its report by the Health Survey and Planning Committee, which was appointed in June 1959, by the Government of India in the Ministry of Health under the chairmanship of Dr. A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar, are pertinent:

"at present medical officers are given too much of responsibility in regard to various aspects of hospital administration which, in our opinion, they need not be burdened with. We frankly confess that unless they get special training in these hospital administrative duties, it would not be correct to expect them to discharge their duties to the best of their ability or to the satisfaction of those in authority. An experiment has been made in certain States of appointing what are known as lay administrators or secretaries but on the whole the results have not been very satisfactory for the reason that they have not had proper training before they were appointed

as lay administrators or secretaries. We gather that in the All-India Institute of Medical Sciences at Delhi, a special effort is being made to train such hospital administrators. It would be useful at the present stage to send some well-qualified people for such training where it is best available in foreign countries.

"The trained hospital administrator must know his responsibilities and limitations so that he can work in close co-operation with the medical personnel without unduly trenching on their professional duties and responsibilities. There should not be too much of the idea of control and if the person has got the necessary qualifications and experience and is judicious in his methods of administration, there could be no doubt that he can exercise a very wholesome influence on the hospital concerned, relieving the medical personnel of many extraneous duties. In another respect, such hospital administrators, if they are industrious and devoted to their duty, can effect large economies in all aspects of hospital expenditure."

* * *

The Case illustrates how far a system of inspections, which relies upon an entirely outside organisation both for inspection as well as for securing the removal of objections that arise during the inspection, may, in its very nature, carry with it the possibility of psychological resistance in the minds of the authorities connected with the institution towards the points of criticism or suggestions for improvement.

**THE
BASIC ADMINISTRATIVE UNIT
FOR
DEVELOPMENT IN MYSORE STATE**

**BY
P. R. DUBHASHI**

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INTRODUCTION

THE PRESENT CASE STUDY illumines the meandering process of decision-making—indeed of a series of tentative decisions—leading to the final decision to delimit the entire State of Mysore into new units of planning and development, viz., the blocks. The process passed through several stages. It started in the year 1952 with the signing of the Indo-U.S. Technical Co-operation Agreement which laid down the essentials of a programme to establish Community Projects. These Community Projects were to be the harbingers of change in the administrative system in rural India. But the superimposition of a new system of development administration on an existing structure required a number of adjustments of a major and minor character and it is with these that this Case Study is concerned.

The principles bearing on the delimitation of the State into blocks side by side with the erstwhile units of administration did not emanate from the State Government alone. Since the new programme itself took its birth in an agreement between the Government of India and the Government of United States of America, from the very beginning the Planning Commission, the national organisation for planning which came into existence in March 1950, was seized of the programme and had entered into correspondence with the Government of several States. The several administrative processes and procedures that operated at the level of the Government of India leading to the several decisions in respect of the size of the units of development administration in rural areas is not a matter of concern in this Case Study. The place of occurrence of this Case is in the State Government.

The Community Development Programme was, however, from the beginning to be financed and organised jointly by the Government of India and the Government of State and, therefore, the discussion and correspondence between these two Governments and the impact of thinking of the Government of India on the State Government's decision are important elements in the present Case. In discussing this impact, the Case Study attempts to throw light on the working relationship between the State

Government and the Central Government in the Indian system of Federal Government. In appreciating this relationship, the reader may like to bear in mind the pattern of allocation of functions between the constituent units, that is, the States and the Union Government, embodied in the Seventh Schedule to the Constitution of India. The Schedule contains three Lists. Lists I & II enumerate the matters falling within the legislative powers of the Indian Union and its constituent States respectively; and List III, matters of concurrent jurisdiction. The item of Community Development *per se* cannot be traced anywhere in these three Lists but all the components of the Community Development Programme—and these components include local government and village administration, co-operative societies, agriculture, forests, fisheries, livestock and animal husbandry, education, social education, minor irrigation and reclamation, small arts and crafts, public health and rural communication—fall in List II, i.e., the State List.

The interest of this Case Study does not merely lie in a theoretical choice of the block as the unit of planning and development. The block could not be brought into existence in a vacuum. It had to be fitted into a network of an ongoing system of administration. The interest of the present Case therefore derives from the very many adjustments that had to be made to bring about a comprehensive delimitation of the entire State into block units. Furthermore, the choice of this new unit was not merely geographical in nature. The block was not to be a mere geographical expression. It had its implications in terms of finance, organisation and personnel and from almost the beginning, these aspects were an integral part of the decision to establish the 'block' as the unit of planning and development. The initiative to establish Community Projects and blocks was no doubt taken by the Government of India but it had to be accepted by all the States in India and each State had to work out its own *modus operandi* of making necessary adjustments. The adjustments made in the State of Mysore were not necessarily identical with those in other States of India. This Case Study is confined to only what happened in Mysore State. Yet, another aspect of interest—an aspect special to Mysore State—was the impact of the reorganisation of the State in 1956 on the process of delimitation. The reorganisation introduced a

number of complicating factors and situations which added many twists and turns to the process of adjustment between the block and the basic unit of general administration.

From the very beginning, the Community Projects scheme attracted wide public attention and the impact of public opinion on the location of blocks is a factor which continuously enlivens all stages of this Case. This choice of a unit apparently a simple and single decision resolved itself into a series of decisions, a complex of adjustments, a variety of developments which formed part of the chequered history of this Case Study from 1952 onwards. The pattern of the Community Development Programme in terms of finance and personnel underwent changes from stage to stage under the impact of a dynamic periodical reappraisal of policies and procedures. There were first of all the 55 Community Projects of 1952. Then came the three stages—National Extension Service, Community Development (Intensive), and Post-intensive phase. They were replaced in 1958 by three new stages—the Pre-extension Stage, the First Stage, and the Second Stage. The blocks were established in instalments at an interval of six months. Therefore, this Case Study, attempts to narrate what happened each time when the instalment of blocks was sanctioned.

* * *

The Case Study is presented in two parts. The first and the longer part traces the developments pertaining to the territorial adjustments necessitated by the establishment of the blocks. The second and the shorter part deals with the staffing problems that arose out of the establishment of these new units. Such a presentation of the Case in two parts happens to be both chronological and logical. The two parts deal with separate problems, but they are not mutually exclusive. Indeed, to an extent they are even mutually overlapping. The logical and meaningful relationship between these two parts would be apparent if it is borne in mind that the problems of staffing as well as siting arose out of the need to adjust the new areas of development, namely, the 'blocks' within the limits of the existing areas of administration, namely, the taluks.

PART ONE

SITING

ADMINISTRATIVE SET-UP IN 'ANCIENT REGIME'

THE YEAR 1951 marked the beginning of a process of planned development in India. Administration as it evolved during the British regime was mainly built round the maintenance of law and order and collection of land revenue. Gradually several development programmes were also taken up. In spite of these developmental activities, however, revenue collection and maintenance of law and order continued to be the essence of General Administration. 'Development' was at its periphery and not at its core.

The First Five Year Plan described the administrative set-up as it existed on the eve of the planned era of development as follows:

"The structure of administrative development during the past century was based on District as the principal unit, with the District Officer as the Government's principal representative in touch with the people. Besides, being in control of the administration of law and order and revenue in the District, the District Officer held a coordinating responsibility for the activities of all departmental agencies within the District."

In the 'ryotwari'¹ areas, between the District and the

1. The British Rule established three principal land revenue systems of which ryotwari was one and the other two being the zamindari system and the mahalwari system. These land revenue systems are of great importance to the economic life in the rural areas, because they define the relationship between the Government and various sections of the rural population depending for their livelihood on land. In the zamindari system, which was established in Bengal, Bihar, and other parts of Eastern India, a single landlord was responsible for payment of land revenue of all lands in a village or in a group of villages to the Government. In return, the landlord was free to collect rent from the cultivating classes. In mahalwari system, which was established in the Punjab, the land-owners were jointly and severally responsible for the payment of land revenue to Government. In ryotwari system prevalent in Bombay, Madras as well as Mysore, each individual holder of land or a peasant proprietor was directly responsible for the payment of

village, were well-defined units of administration, namely, the sub-division, the taluk, and the circle.

The Deputy Commissioner or the Collector had been the head of the District administration, assisted by the Sub-Divisional Officers in charge of sub-divisions, the Tahsildars/Mamlatdars/Amildars in charge of the tahsils or taluks, and the revenue inspectors in charge of circles. At the village level, Revenue Officers, like the village accountant, the village headman, and the village watchman—all hereditary officers—constituted the last link in the chain of administration. Of the three units between the District and the village, it was the tahsil which was considered as the unit of general administration *par excellence* not only because of the important business pertaining to peasants' rights on land and obligation to pay land revenue but also because of the fact that the jurisdiction of the civil and criminal court, the registration office or the police station was co-terminous with that of the taluk.

These units of revenue administration became also the units of administration of several other development departments which grew up gradually. Thus, there were district officers for agriculture, animal husbandry, forests, co-operation, public works, education, health and medicine, etc. Below them were officers at the taluk level. The development departments had, however, unlike the Revenue Department, no machinery functioning directly at the village level.

Mysore State, being a ryotwari area, had this pattern of administration. Besides being a progressive State, it had a fairly advanced developmental activity as well. Mysore also had a background of local self-government institutions—the Panchayat at the village level, the Taluk Board at the taluk level, and the District Board at the District level, though, as in many other parts of India, these institutions for a variety of reasons worked with a limited success. Such was then the picture of administration as it existed in Mysore State on the eve of the new era development ushered in by the Five Year Plans.

land revenue to Government, there being no intermediaries. These three different systems of land revenue led to different patterns of land revenue administration and since land revenue administration was the core of the general administration at the district level the land revenue systems were of decisive importance in the administrative set-up.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME IS BORN
(1952)

The Initial Proposals

One of the aims of the First Five Year Plan was to initiate a process of transformation of the social and economic life of the villages. For this purpose, Community Development was conceived as the method and National Extension Service as the agency. Community Development combined with National Extension Service was to herald the dawn of a silent revolution in the countryside. Prime Minister Nehru thought that "nothing had happened in any country in the world during the last few years so big in content and so revolutionary in design as the community projects in India." In the words of Shri V.T. Krishnamachari, the first Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, the National Extension Service sought to embody "the efforts of the nation to build up a new life for itself and a new pattern of society in which there will be fuller and richer life for all."... "The entire administrative machinery of the States and the best unofficial leadership were directed to awaken mass enthusiasm and enlist the active interest and support of the millions of the families living in the country in the immense task of bettering their living conditions."

The Community Development Programme was launched on October 2, 1952. But the correspondence on the subject naturally started a few months earlier. It was on January 12, 1952, that the Secretary of the Planning Commission wrote a letter to all the State Governments regarding the Rural-cum-Urban Community Projects which were to be brought into existence under the Indo-U.S. Technical Co-operation Agreement signed on January 5, 1952, between the Government of the U.S.A. and the Government of India (hereinafter referred to as the Agreement). The letter of the Planning Commission pointed out that this Agreement provided for the Indo-American Technical Co-operation Fund to finance a programme of economic co-operation which, among other things, contemplated implementation of Rural-cum-Urban Community Projects. These were to be "intensive area projects in which activities of development were to be closely integrated with one another." ... "While the progress of agricultural production would remain the central

objective, agricultural development itself will be conceived as a part of the wider process of development. The problems of rural community development had to be tackled simultaneously from several directions and there had to be the fullest co-operation amongst various agencies set up as also between these agencies and the people." The content of this Programme consisted of agricultural development, social education and improvement of health of the population and introduction of new schemes and new occupations so that the Programme, as a whole, could help the rural community to higher levels of organisation and arouse enthusiasm for new knowledge and new way of life. These Projects derived their inspiration from the valuable experiences gained at Nilokheri and Faridabad where townships were built up for the rehabilitation of displaced persons and at Etawah where, under Albert Mayer, an intensive rural development programme was carried out. In Etawah, in three years' time, 79,000 people from 102 villages covering an area of 100 sq. miles demonstrated how by co-operative and planned endeavour food production could be substantially increased and health and literacy conditions improved.² In Nilokheri and Faridabad also, in less than three years, with good planning and the willing help of the people, modern townships based on the co-operative principle were built up and up-to-date housing, new schools, improved public health facilities and a wide variety of opportunities for industrial activity were provided.

The Planning Commission's letter added that in the initial instance 50 Community Projects would be established, each Project comprising roughly about 300 villages with a total area of about 450-500 sq. miles, with a cultivated area of about 150,000 acres and a population of about two lakhs. Such Project area would be divided into three development blocks, each consisting of about 100 villages and a population of about 60 to 70 thousand.³

2. The story of Etawah experiment is available now in a book form—Mayer, Albert and others—*Pilot Project, India: the story of rural development at Etawah, Uttar Pradesh*, University of California, 1958, XXIV, 367p.

3. No official records are available now to show why a development block was conceived as comprising 100 villages and a population of 60 to 70 thousand. It would, however, be of interest to know that Mr. Chester Bowles, the then American Ambassador to India, visited the Mahewa Block of the Etawah Project in November 1951. The project at that time consisted of three development blocks, viz., Mahewa, Bhagyanagar, and Ajitmal, all the three

The development blocks in turn were to be divided into groups of five villages each, each group being the field of operation for a Village Level Worker (VLW). Though this was to be the standardised pattern, it was recognised that in actual practice local conditions and administrative considerations would largely influence the size of the area selected for a Community Project or a development block. But one point, a point of continuous interest throughout this Case Study that was emphasised at the very outset in the letter of the Planning Commission, was that there was "a considerable advantage in a Project area or a development block corresponding to an already existing and well-established administrative unit." As in respect of area, so in respect of programme, it was recognised that regard had to be paid to the existing programmes and facilities. This double aspect in the scheme of Community Development has to be pin-pointed. On the one hand, the Community Development Programme was a definite break from the existing pattern of administration not only in its ideological but also in its programmatic and organisational aspects. But, on the other hand, it did not start from a scratch. It did not intend to destroy the existing set-up but rather sought to build on it. It was, therefore, emphasised, in the letter of the Planning Commission mentioned earlier, that special type of personnel carefully selected for their quality and systematically trained would be required to man the Projects.

As regards the location of the Projects, the letter of the Planning Commission stated that as additional agricultural production was the most urgent objective, Community Projects should first be established in those areas in which, on account of irrigation facilities or assured rainfall, additional effort was likely

covering 300 villages with a population of 2,04,000. The Agreement signed on January 5, 1952 was a sequel to this visit.

Earlier, the Fiscal Commission had recommended in May 1950 that an Extension Service with the object of bridging the gap between research and the practices of producers should be established by setting up an organisation reaching down the remotest village. It proposed the appointment of an Extension Officer with necessary staff for a group of 40 or 50 villages who would be the agent of all the development departments. The Draft Outline of the First Five Year Plan, issued in July 1951, contemplated a rural extension service with a block of 50 or 60 villages with a population of about 25,000 to 30,000.

to produce the most substantial results. It was hoped that a number of the projects would be established in those areas which were likely to receive new irrigation. This, it was felt, would assist not only in promoting better utilisation of water and greater production but also in developing the community in an integrated manner along new lines. In States like West Bengal and Punjab, the projects were to aim especially at helping the re-settlement of displaced persons. The letter added that it would be desirable to establish, say, two projects in areas inhabited by scheduled tribes.

The Planning Commission further explained in its letter that the number of projects which could be taken in hand in a State would depend upon the suitability of the areas proposed, the availability of the necessary organisation and of personnel of the right quality, the ability of a State Government to meet its share of expenditure and the character of the development needs and programmes of a State.

The administrative organisation for the new Programme at the level of the Government of India was in the form of a Central Committee presided over by the Prime Minister which, according to the Agreement, was to determine policy and provide general supervision over the Projects undertaken. Shri S.K. Dey was appointed as the Honorary Administrator of Community Projects under the Central Committee. According to the tentative distribution of Projects communicated by the Planning Commission in its letter cited above, Mysore State was allotted one Project.

*Community Projects as a Continuation of the
Past Efforts in Mysore*

The letter of the Planning Commission was received in the Mysore State by the State Commissioner of Economic Development and Planning who was also the Secretary of the Inter-departmental Committee on Planning. The office of the Commissioner of Economic Development and Planning was naturally considered to be the counterpart of Planning Commission at the State level and, therefore, it was the Commissioner of Economic Development and Planning who had in the usual course to deal with this communication from the Planning Commission. The Commissioner on receipt of this communication of January 12, 1952,

addressed a letter to the Chief Secretary on January 17, 1952, enclosing its copy for information of Government. He stated in his letter that he had requested the Commissioner for Rural Development in Mysore to initiate action for setting up the Project, as envisaged by the Planning Commission, in consultation with other heads of development departments. The Chief Secretary brought this communication to the notice of the Home Minister and the Chief Minister. There was then no Minister for development and, therefore, according to the allocation of portfolios, the matter had to be dealt with by the Home Minister. In view of its urgency and importance, the matter had to be considered by the State Cabinet. The Home Minister informed the Cabinet informally and convened a meeting of the Heads of Departments. After these consultations and deliberations, the Home Minister recorded on the case file the decision to select two areas, namely, Sorab-Shikaripur in Shimoga District, and Maddur-Malavalli in Mandya District, and this was approved by the Chief Minister in writing.

Accordingly, the Commissioner of Economic Development wrote to the Secretary, Planning Commission, on February 8, 1952, giving detailed information about the two areas proposed for the operation of the Rural-cum-Urban Community Projects. The Economic Commissioner in his letter stated that the Sorab-Shikaripur area was a trifle smaller in size and magnitude than that suggested in the Planning Commission's letter in regard to the population and cultivated area, and a little larger in area and the number of villages. He, however, pointed out that having regard to the large forest area, the nature of the terrain and the situation, this excess of the area need not come in the way of selection. The Commissioner also observed that the introduction of the scheme now envisaged under the Rural-cum-Urban Project could in a sense be said to be the continuation of the past effort made in Mysore for comprehensive development in rural areas. *The field of operation was in a sense already prepared* and the Rural Development Scheme, which was in operation in Mysore State, laid great stress on mobilising local resources and securing in an abundant measure non-official initiative, co-operation and enterprise. The experiment of progressive association of Government with leaders of public opinion had worked successfully for over 40 years in Mysore and had

Contributed in no small measure to the prevailing state of economic development of Mysore.⁴ The chances of the success of the new schemes proposed by the Planning Commission, he thought, therefore, appeared to be brighter and greater in Mysore State.

The Schematic Pattern of Community Projects

The Community Projects, as conceived originally, were to be composite Urban-cum-Rural Projects. But in the letter of March 25, 1952, the Administrator of Community Projects, Shri S.K. Dey, (the Community Project Administration was part and parcel of the Planning Commission), suggested a modification of the Community Development Programme. This was to be the first of the several changes to take place from time to time in the pattern and composition of the Community Development Programme. A composite type of Community Project sought to create an integrated rural-cum-urban community but owing to financial and other limitations it was not found possible to include the urban component of the Programme. The suggested modification, therefore, was that the Project would not provide for urban development.

The *staffing pattern* contemplated for these purely rural Projects was as follows:

(a) *Supervisory Staff*

Project Executive Officer	1
Assistant Project Executive Officers	2
Agricultural Graduates	3
Agricultural Graduates with knowledge of animal husbandry	3
Agricultural Graduates with experience in co-operation and knowledge of participation	3

4. Mysore was one of the major princely States in pre-Independent India. Ever since 'rendition' in 1881, Mysore had the privilege of having a series of distinguished Dewans under whose guidance Mysore developed into what came to be acknowledged as a model and progressive administration. During the 50 years of rural development work, it had several schemes which could be considered as some of the precursors of India's Community Development. As a result, a large number of villages in Mysore had the advantage of having a drinking water well, surface drainage, primary school, a local fund dispensary, veterinary dispensary, library, an approach road, a panchayat hall, and electricity.

Agricultural Engineers	3
	<hr/> 15
Adult Education Officers	7
(b) <i>Field Staff</i>	
(i) Agriculture:	
Overseers	3
Village Level Workers	60
Stockmen	6
Messengers	10
	<hr/> 79
(ii) Health:	
Medical Officers	3
Compounders	3
Sanitary Inspectors	3
Health Visitors	3
Midwives	12
	<hr/> 24

The *organisational pattern* of the Programme at the State level, as conceived by the Planning Commission, was indicated to the State Governments by Shri N.R. Pillai, Secretary of the Planning Commission, in his letter of March 25, 1952. The letter suggested that the organisational set-up at the State level should provide for (1) fullest co-ordination between Projects and the general development programmes included in the Five Year Plan; and (2) the administration and financial procedure which would avoid delay and departmental routine. To meet these requirements, the letter suggested the following set-up for Community Projects in the State:

- (1) At the State level, there would be a State Development Committee consisting of the Chief Minister and Ministers in charge of Development, Agriculture, Irrigation, and Finance. The Development Commissioner/ Development Secretary of the State would act as the Secretary of the Committee.
- (2) The State Development Committee would be assisted by

an Advisory Board consisting of the Development Commissioner/Development Secretary and the Secretaries of the principal Departments concerned with the Community Development Programme.

- (3) Development Commissioner/Development Secretary would be the officer responsible for ensuring co-ordination at the headquarters of the State Government and for issuing instructions to the officers in charge of Community Projects.
- (4) Heads of Departments in the State would be closely associated with the Advisory Board even though they might not be members of the Board.
- (5) An officer with a status of a Collector (Deputy Development Commissioner) would be in charge specifically of Community Projects under the general directions and supervision of the Development Commissioner.

At the District level, arrangements would be on the following lines:

- (a) There would be a District Development Officer specifically in charge of development programme. He would be of the status of Additional Collector and would be responsible for general development activities in the District as well as for the successful execution of the Community Projects.
- (b) The best available persons, either from official cadres or otherwise, would be selected as Project Executive Officers (P.E.O.). The P.E.Os. would be in charge of individual Projects. They would be chosen after taking into account their experience, general outlook and understanding of the needs and methods of Community Development and capacity for leadership as well as ability to secure both official and non-official co-operation.
- (c) There would be a District Development Committee consisting of officers of the various Development Departments with the Collector as the Chairman and the District Development Officer as the Secretary.
- (d) In addition, there would also be a Project Advisory Committee which would include, besides the principal Officers concerned, leading public workers, a few

representative agriculturists, the Chairman of the District Board, local representatives in Parliament and State Legislature, etc. The Executive Officer of the Project would serve as the Secretary of this advisory body.

This organisational pattern had been approved by the Central Committee, taking into account the recommendations made in the Draft Outline of the First Five Year Plan in regard to developmental organisation at the District level. The Project Advisory Committee was meant to help in promoting the people's participation in the Programme.⁵

As to the *financial pattern*, the expenditure on the Project to the tune of Rs. 65 lakhs was to be shared initially between the Central Government and the State Government, but after three years the entire financial liability for maintaining the development achieved in the Project was to be of the State Government. Public co-operation and contributions in money and voluntary works were to constitute the most important aspects of the Community Development Programme.⁵

A COMMUNITY PROJECT FOR MYSORE

The State Government Considers the Proposal

Mention has been made earlier of the tentative proposal made by the Commissioner for Planning and Economic Development to the Planning Commission for the establishment of the Community Project in the selected areas of the State. In his reply, the Administrator of the Community Projects informed the State Government that the proposal of the State Government for setting up a Community Project in Mysore State was considered by the Central Committee which had decided to locate one Community Project in Shimoga District (Sorab-Shikaripur area) in Mysore State. The State Government had suggested two areas but sanction was given for only one as proposed in the original allocation. The proposal made by the State Government was subject to a final decision to be taken after ascertaining the financial implications of the scheme.

The Commissioner of Economic Development had,

5. Details of the budget provision and staffing pattern of Community Project and National Extension Service blocks during the years 1952-58 are given in Appendix I.

therefore, to move the State Government for getting its final approval. On April 12, 1952, he sent to the Chief Secretary a note for circulation amongst the Ministers. Earlier, he had discussed the matter in an interview with the Chief Minister. In the note, the Commissioner reviewed all the developments leading to the proposal by the State Government and its acceptance by the Planning Commission. He then explained several grounds, including financial, on which he recommended the final acceptance of the scheme by the State Government. The entire project was to cost Rs. 65 lakhs of which the Central Government would meet Rs. 23,02,000. The State Government would bear Rs. 41,98,000, of which Rs. 29,91,000 would be provided as loan by the Central Government and made over to the State Government. As against the amount of Rs. 12.07 lakhs to be met by the State Government for three years (which worked out roughly at Rs. 4 lakhs per year), the Government of India would contribute as grant-in-aid a sum of Rs. 23.02 lakhs. The fact that the Central Government would be incurring nearly double the expenditure to be borne by the State Government was one of the inducements to the State Government to accept the programme. Though the State Government would be committed to maintain the pace of development after the period of three years, the Commissioner expected that as the village people became conscious of the benefits of self-help and realised the value and dignity of labour, they themselves would take up much of the maintenance work. Secondly, he pointed out that the Community Project area would become an administrative centre of development activities for other areas. The note concluded that the State would stand distinctly to gain by the introduction of the scheme. The interest of the Prime Minister in the new Community Project and his desire that the State Governments should initiate speedy action for its implementation was an additional consideration.

On receipt of the above note, the Chief Secretary submitted the matter for orders of the Council of Ministers or the Cabinet, as the proposals involved an important policy matter. The views of the Secretaries of the Departments concerned are, according to the Secretariat procedure, obtained before putting up a case to the Cabinet for its consideration. In this case, the views of the Secretary, Local Self-Government (L.S.G.), and

Finance Secretary were obtained on the notes sent by the Commissioner of Economic Development and Planning. (These views are given a little later.) Thereafter, the Chief Secretary noted on the file that the scheme was a special one and involved considerable financial commitments over a period of years and, therefore, recommended that it should be considered to be a Council matter. The Chief Minister agreed to this and ordered that it should be considered at the Council meeting. The Council Note⁶ was then prepared by the Local Government Secretariat,⁷ embodying several points in the note prepared by the Commissioner of Economic Development. The Commissioner's note apart from recommending the acceptance of the scheme and the location of the Project in Shimoga District had proposed the establishment of an organisation on the lines suggested by the Planning Commission.

One point of interest in the note of the Commissioner for Economic Development and Planning was that he should be responsible for guiding and supervising the work connected with the Community Projects sanctioned for Mysore. The note, however, did not indicate what would be the relationship between the Commissioner for Economic Development and the

6. The Council Note or the Cabinet Note is prepared by the Secretary of the Department in whose jurisdiction the problem to be considered by the Council of Ministers at its meeting falls. This Note summarises all the important developments about that case, the different points of view of various departments, the pros and cons on the points at issue and points or alternatives for orders of the Cabinet. The Note is approved by the Minister concerned before it is circulated amongst the Ministers and discussed at a meeting of the Council of Ministers, that is the Cabinet.

7. The Secretariat is a central office or a staff organisation which is available for advice and assistance to the Council of Ministers. The business of Government is divided into various departments. For each department there is an administrative secretariat which is headed by a Secretary to Government. All the administrative Secretariats together constitute the Secretariat organisation. The Chief Secretary apart from normally being the departmental Secretary in charge of general administration is also the head of the Secretariat organisation. He also functions as Secretary to the Cabinet. The line organisation of each department is led by the Head of the Department, for example, the Director of Agriculture, or the Inspector-General of Police, or the Development Commissioner. The Head of the Department has to work in accordance with the orders of Government issued from the Secretariat and signed by the Secretary of the Department concerned.

Development Commissioner. The L.S.G. Secretary was of the view (which was also embodied in the Cabinet Note) that the Secretary to Government in the Rural Development Department might be the Secretary of the State Development Committee. As regards the District set-up, he felt that the Deputy Commissioner of the District might be in charge of the work of the Project and he may be assisted by a full-time officer of the status of the Assistant Commissioner. The Cabinet Note also embodied the view of the Commissioner of Rural Development that since the scheme had a rural bias it should more appropriately be under his direct overall supervision. The Finance Secretary wanted to find out whether the expenditure on the schemes of the Registrar of Co-operative Societies, Rural Development Commissioner, and Adult Literary Council as well as other departments might not be charged off to this new scheme.

The observation of the Chief Secretary incorporated in the Cabinet Note was that the L.S.G. Secretary might be the Secretary of the State level Committee. In the opinion of the Chief Secretary, the Advisory Board might consist of the Commissioner of Economic Development as Chairman and other Secretaries including the Development Secretary and the Deputy Commissioner, Shimoga, as members. The Commissioner of Economic Development might be the officer to be in overall charge of the Community Project.

Thus, the Cabinet had before it the viewpoints of different Departments. On the general point of acceptance of the scheme, the Chief Secretary felt that considering the benefits to be derived and the expenditure involved over a period of three years, the adoption of the scheme for one centre (i.e., Project) would be desirable. The immediate charge of the centres might be in the hands of an officer whom the Commissioner for Economic Development had designated as District Development Officer and who more appropriately could be called the Assistant Development Commissioner and the immediate supervisory and controlling officer of the Project should be the Deputy Commissioner.

The Council of Ministers approved, in the second week of May 1952, the proposal for starting a Rural Community Project in Sorab-Shikaripur. It further decided that there should be an

Advisory Committee with the Minister of Revenue and Public Works as Chairman, and the Director of Community Projects as *ex officio* Secretary,⁸ and that the Director of the Community Project should be of the status of Deputy Commissioner.

Administrative Organisation for the Project

On the basis of this decision of the Council of Ministers, the necessary Government Order was issued on May 24, 1952, approving the proposal for starting a Rural Community Project in Sorab-Shikaripur area. The Advisory Committee was accordingly constituted. The Government Order, however, did not mention which officer would be in overall charge of the entire programme. In the meanwhile, the post of the Commissioner for Economic Development and Planning was combined with the post of Director of Industries. According to the suggestion of the Community Project Administrator, a senior officer had to be appointed as Development Commissioner, and kept in charge of the Community Development Programme without any other major assignment. The Chief Secretary, therefore, submitted a note to the Revenue Minister and the Chief Minister pointing out that since the Director of Industries and the Commissioner for Economic Development had his hands full with the work connected with major industries, the only alternative was to entrust the work of the Community Project to the Commissioner of Rural Development or to the Director of Agriculture if a full-time officer could not be appointed. The Revenue Minister stated in his note that since only one project was to be established, the State Government could not afford to have a full-time Development Commissioner. The Revenue Commissioner might be designated as the Development Commissioner. At the State level, the Council of Ministers itself would be the State Development Committee. The Advisory Board would consist of the principal Secretaries. There was no need to have a District Development Committee. The Project Advisory Committee would consist of seven non-officials and two or three officials including the Deputy Commissioner. The Project Executive Officer would be the Secretary and the Revenue Minister would be the Chairman. The Chief Minister agreed to the

8. A point to be noted is that the Minister of Revenue hailed from Shimoga District in which the Project was located.

organisational set-up suggested by the Revenue Minister.

In the light of these decisions, the Government Order of May 24, 1952, was modified and an order was issued on July 7, 1952, laying down the revised organisation for Community Project Programme. The decisions embodied in the Order were as follows:

- (1) An officer of the status of an Assistant Commissioner will be appointed as Project Executive Officer. (There would be no separate Director of Community Projects of the status of a Deputy Commissioner.)
- (2) The P.E.O. will work directly under the supervision, guidance and control of the Deputy Commissioner.
- (3) The Revenue Commissioner will be the *ex officio* Development Commissioner for Community Projects and will be in overall supervision in all matters connected with the Project. (The choice of the Revenue Commissioner was in view of the fact that he was the head of General Administration in the then existing Mysore State.)
- (4) The State Development Committee will be presided over by the Chief Minister and will consist of the Ministers of Industries, Law and Education, Public Health and Local Self-Government, Revenue and Public Works, and Home and Agriculture. The Chief Secretary to Government would be the Secretary to this Committee.
- (5) The State Advisory Board will work under the chairmanship of the Revenue Commissioner and *ex officio* Commissioner for Development and would consist of the Chief Secretary as well as other Secretaries of the development Departments and Heads of development Departments including the Commissioner for Local Self-Government as its members.
- (6) The Project Advisory Committee will be presided over by the Minister of Revenue and Public Works, and will include the Deputy Commissioner, other District officers and leading non-officials.

Such was, then, the set-up of new administrative machinery for administration of the first Community Development

Project in Mysore State. The parts of this new machinery were, however, taken straightaway from the old.

The Demand for Including Adjoining Taluks

The location of the Community Project in Sorab-Shikaripur taluks in Shimoga District evoked an immediate reaction from other taluks of the District. This cause was taken up by the President of the District Board of Shimoga District, who in his letter to the Revenue Minister, while welcoming the location of the Project in his District, pressed for extension of the area of the project to some of the remaining malnad (i.e., forest) taluks, viz., Thirthahally, Hosanagar and Sagar in Shimoga District. The Revenue Minister, who incidentally came from the same District, Shimoga, proposed to the Chief Minister that the field of Project activities might be widened so as to include the three taluks in addition. The Chief Minister, however, opined that the area and population of the Project was fixed in the scheme and if more population and area were to come within the Project, it would involve extra expenditure and it might be necessary to obtain the consent of the Administrator of the Community Project. He, therefore, decided that the scheme as now determined might start working and the question of its extension might be taken up with the Community Project Administration.

The size of the new Project area did not involve any break from the erstwhile unit of administration, namely, the taluk. The Project was clearly defined as an area including two taluks of Sorab and Shikaripur. This was divided into three units according to the principle of geographical continuity. The first unit, with headquarters at Shiralkoppa, had a total number of 130 populated villages; the second unit, with headquarters at Shikaripur, had a total number of 134 populated villages; and the third unit with headquarters at Sorab had 227 villages. On October 14, 1952, this demarcation of three block units within the Project was approved by Government. The Project Executive Officer with his rank equivalent to an Assistant Commissioner was placed in direct charge of the first unit in addition to the supervision of the entire Project and the Assistant Project Executive Officers were appointed for the other two units. They were of the rank of a Tahsildar. Thus, the new posts had their

equivalents in terms of the old categories of personnel. Orders in this behalf were issued on September 13, 1952.

THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT PROPOSES
A NEW SCHEME

The response of the people in the Community Project areas was much beyond the expectations, and the need for a rapid extension of the programme to other parts of the country became obvious. But the country's resources were not sufficient to sustain a comprehensive plan of the same magnitude as contemplated in the first 55 Community Projects. Recognising this and in pursuance of the recommendations made in the First Five Year Plan about the "establishment over a period of ten years a network of (rural) extension workers throughout the country", the Government decided early in 1953 to launch a National Extension Service as an agency of the Community Development Programme.

*The Block—A New Unit of Development
Administration (1953)*

The Community Project Administration accordingly gave up the idea of establishing full size Community Projects covering 300 villages and, instead, decided to establish 'development blocks', in a phased manner. A scheme for covering 1,20,000 villages—one-fourth of India—during the remaining period of the First Five Year Plan, as recommended in the Plan itself, was drawn up and was considered at the Second Development Commissioners' Conference* held from April 16 to 19, 1953. At the Conference, Shri V.T. Krishnamachari, Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, emphasised, "The basic principle (of the National Extension Service) is a co-ordinated approach to rural life as a whole and assisting the people to improve their condition by their own efforts." He listed the three main directions in which a change of outlook was needed as follows:

9. The Annual Conference of Development Commissioners (now called the Annual Conference on Community Development and Panchayati Raj) reviews progress, discusses contemporary problems and lays down policies and new lines of work and revised priorities (when necessary) for the succeeding year.

firstly, increased employment and production by the application of scientific methods of agriculture which should be understood in the widest sense as including horticulture, animal husbandry, fisheries, etc. and the establishment of subsidiary and cottage industries, etc.; *secondly*, self-help and self-reliance and the largest possible extension of the principle of co-operation; and *thirdly*, the need for devoting a portion of the vast unutilised time and energy in the countryside for the benefit of the community.

This policy was communicated to all the State Governments including the State of Mysore by the Community Project Administration in its letter of April 29, 1953, along which was enclosed a memorandum giving details of the new policy for the organisation of the National Extension Service and expansion of the Community Development Programme. According to this policy, it was decided that the Central Government should assist the State Government in establishing extension organisation so as to bring the entire area of the State under intensive development within a period of about 10 years. This new policy was in accordance with the recommendations of the Grow More Food Enquiry Committee headed by Shri V.T. Krishnamachari. In pursuance of the recommendations of the Planning Commission, it was proposed that National Extension Service should be organised to cover about one-fourth of the country during the First Five Year Plan period, i.e., 1951-56. This meant initiation of work in 1,200 development blocks, each block consisting of 100 villages and covering a population of about 66,000 people. The existing 55 Community Projects were regarded as equivalent to about 300 development blocks under the revised expenditure pattern of Rs. 45 lakhs per Project. The Community Project Administration accordingly drew up the programme for taking up 900 National Extension Service development blocks during the rest of the period of the First Five Year Plan. The all-India phasing was worked out as follows:

1953-54	180 blocks
1954-55	270 „
1955-56	450 „
	<hr/>
	900
	<hr/>

It was further decided to start this new programme on

October 2, 1953, and the State Governments were asked to indicate how many N.E.S. development blocks could be taken up during each of the remaining three years of the First Five Year Plan, namely, 1953-54, 1954-55, and 1955-56.

The Community Project Administration further intimated that of these 900 N.E.S. blocks, 400 development blocks would be taken up for relatively more intensive development on the lines of Community Projects. This intensive community development block would have a budget of Rs. 15 lakhs. It would, in addition to the personnel of N.E.S. block, have the following personnel:

- 2 Village Level Workers (Women),
- Some Veterinary Personnel,
- Some Medical Personnel,
- A Chief Social Education Organiser—shared between three blocks, and additional ministerial staff.

It was intended that after the completion of this intensive phase each development block would continue to retain on permanent basis the personnel of the National Extension Service. The Community Development blocks and the N.E.S. blocks were conceived as having identical aims and methods of work. The difference lay in that a higher standard of development to be attempted in the Community Development blocks by allotting larger sums of expenditure for a period usually of three years. The N.E.S. was conceived as a permanent feature for continuous improvement of rural life. The intensive development of a proportion of N.E.S. blocks was meant to make community development and natural extension related phases of a single programme, the normal pattern of development administration being represented by the National Extension Service.

At this stage it may be worthwhile to take a pause and compare this newly emerging set-up of development administration with the pre-Plan picture described earlier. The block, as proposed, was an innovation in the system of rural administration. With the block Government introduced (1) *a new unit* of action and administration with (2) *a new function*—‘development’, (3) *a new category of functionaries* (multipurpose workers: Block Development Officer and Gramsevak, and (4) *a new method* (Extension Education). The communication of the Planning Commission to the State Governments cited

above, however, did not explain the implications of the choice of the new unit; it did not give any indication of the reasons why the new unit was chosen. It is true that the scheme for the N.E.S. had been discussed at the Second Conference of Development Commissioners (April 16-19, 1953) and the State Governments were aware of the thinking within the Central Government and that the block had already emerged as a sub-unit of a Community Project. But the memoranda on the subject placed before the said Conference also did not indicate any reasons for the delimitation of the block as 100 villages with 60 to 70 thousand of population. "The dilution of C.P. programmes, the formulation of National Extension Service and the adoption of a scheme of rapid multiplication of N.E.S. were adopted not so much on the strength of satisfaction with existing and prospective forms, and with their content and organisation, but were pursued more under pressure of a type of popular demand for quicker progress. ... This was a deliberate decision taken by the Planning Commission and the Government of India on the strength of earlier experience culminating in the findings of the Grow More Food Committee's report." It was only gradually with the unfolding of the Community Development and N.E.S. Programme that the further implications of the choice of the new unit became apparent.

Organisation and Finances of N.E.S. Blocks

The *administrative ingredients* of this new unit—the National Extension Service block—, as envisaged in the letter of April 29, 1953, of the Community Projects Administration (C.P.A.), were as follows:

- (a) Staff and necessary equipment;
- (b) Administrative buildings, e.g., office accommodation, seed, implements and stores, etc.;
- (c) A small works programme forming the *nucleus* around which the staff would be engaged in productive activities in respect of basic amenities;
- (d) Loans—medium-term for minor irrigation schemes and short-term for providing credit facilities—to the villagers.

The budget of National Extension Service block would consist of Rs. 4½ lakhs, divided as follows:

Personnel	1,00,000
Transport	50,000
Local Works	1,50,000
Social Education	25,000
Grant-in-aid in respect of recurring expenditure on schools and other local institutions	25,000
Minor Irrigation Loans	1,00,000

The Central Government was to bear 75 % of non-recurring and 50 % of the recurring expenditure. The rest was to be borne by the State Government. The budget would be augmented by short-term agricultural credit of Rs. 3 lakhs. The personnel of a National Extension Service block was to consist of a Block Development Officer, three Extension Officers for agriculture, animal husbandry, co-operation and panchayats, two Social Education Organisers and an Overseer and 10 Village Level Workers and other ministerial staff. Thus in the initial stages the block, with hundred villages divided into 10 circles each under the charge of a Village Level Worker, was to constitute a new unit of administration in the limited sense that (i) it had a programme of development with a definite budget, and (ii) it had a team of officers. It was, however, expected to have, from the very beginning, a potentiality of growing into a unit of general administration in the field of development for the following two reasons:

- (1) The Community Project Administration, under the direction of the Central Committee, envisaged that the block budget would be essentially a nucleus budget to be supplemented by the normal programmes of all other development departments, and
- (2) The existing staff of various development departments working at the taluk level would eventually be merged with the block staff.

The Community Project Administration also envisaged that organisation of the new programme would be fitted in the existing general pattern of administration. Thus, the Sub-Divisional Officer at the sub-divisional level and the Collector (Deputy Commissioner) at the District level were entrusted with the supervision of the programme. The Collector was to be the Chairman of the District Development Council. At the State

level, the Development Commissioner would be in charge of the programme. He was to be the co-ordinating officer, a leader of the team consisting of Heads of Departments and was to be the Secretary of the State Development Committee. In view of the difficult nature of the work entrusted to him, the Community Project Administration suggested that he should be a senior and competent officer who might also be entrusted with specific development subjects directly under his charge, e.g., agriculture, co-operation, etc. The unification of all developmental efforts under the Collector and the State Development Commissioner at the District and State levels respectively was meant to provide unity of purpose and direction in the execution of the Programme.

The organisational pattern suggested for the implementation of the Programme was based on the recommendation made by the Grow More Food Enquiry Committee¹⁰ and by the Planning Commission in the First Five Year Plan. The significant thing about these administrative arrangements was that they aimed at the transformation of the existing general administrative cadres of Government into welfare cadres distinct from the normal machinery of the Government. This implied that the machinery which was at one time devised to look after the functions of revenue collection and maintenance of law and order was being changed into a welfare administration and the resources of all the development Departments of Government were being utilised to the maximum advantage for a concerted attack on the problem of rural development.

The C.P.A.'s letter of April 29, 1953, also gave an indication of the lines on which units of block had to be welded into older

10. The Grow More Food Enquiry Committee, in its report submitted in June 1952, stressed the need for an organisation for intensive rural work, which would assist the farmer and assist in the co-ordinated development of rural life as a whole. For such an organisation, it proposed that "the Taluk or Tahsil—the lowest administrative unit above a village—, usually consisting of 100 to 120 villages, would be a convenient unit. Below it there would be: (i) a group of villages, 5 to 10 in number with a population ranging from five to eight thousands; and (ii) the village itself. The Taluk would be a development block." It would be in the charge of a Development Officer or Extension Officer who would be the revenue divisional officer. He would be relieved of his other duties by a special assistant appointed for the purpose and would be assisted by four technical officers. All development activities in the District would be unified under the control of the Collector as Extension Officer.

units of administration. The National Extension Service would be organised in units of one or more development blocks so as to constitute a compact administrative charge under the Sub-Divisional Officer or Sub-Collector. Normally the administrative unit under a Sub-Divisional Officer would comprise 300 villages.

The Second Conference of Development Commissioners (April 16-19, 1953) had recommended that the National Extension Service Development blocks which would be located in each District in the States would mainly be concentrated in areas with the largest potentiality of food production and for all-round development. Backward areas would, however, receive a fair share of these blocks and, in applying the criteria for conversion of the National Extension Service Development blocks into full-fledged Community Projects, the comparative initial backwardness in some of these areas would be taken into consideration. The object in general would be to select only those blocks which, in their working, had shown good results, particularly in the direction of the people's participation in the implementation of the Programme.

In another letter to the State Governments, addressed on October 8, 1953, about the organisational pattern, the Union Government emphasised, "The essential point is that there is no intention to establish a new Department or hierarchy. ...It is intended that for the purpose of bringing about co-ordination at different levels of the administration, there should be a single line organisation. ...The basic object, ...is to transform the existing General Administrative Services into Development Services and *not* to create a separate Development Service."

ALLOTMENT OF BLOCKS

The First Series (1953)

The State Government on the receipt of the letter of April 29, 1953, from the Community Project Administration sent it for examination to the Revenue Commissioner who was also the *ex officio* Development Commissioner. The Revenue Commissioner communicated his views to the State Government in his letter of June 22, 1953. In this, he pointed out that the

territorial equivalent of a block in Mysore State would be half a taluk made up of either two or three 'hoblis' (circles) except in a few cases where, on account of small jurisdiction and population, the entire taluk itself might be constituted into a development block. Mysore had then 81 taluks and, according to 1951 census, a rural population of 80 lakhs which gave an average population of about one lakh per taluk. The Revenue Commissioner, therefore, proposed the establishment of 30 development blocks to cover one-fourth of the State population during the First Plan period. The Revenue Commissioner further suggested the integration of revenue and developmental activities. He quoted in this connection the views of the Chief Minister of Bombay State which were set out in a letter of May 7, 1953, addressed to the Prime Minister. The letter stated, "This State already has large number of revenue officials in each taluk and during the last few years, we have also built up an agricultural service and are at a stage now when by pooling our agricultural assistants and our revenue circle inspectors we can very nearly provide all the Village Level Workers which we shall require." Bombay State, therefore, had attempted to transform the existing administrative machinery into a welfare agency required for the Community Development Programme, without entertaining additional staff. The Revenue Commissioner felt that this particular pattern of integration was even more appropriate in the case of Mysore since it was in the line of its rural developmental activity for over 40 years through the co-ordinated efforts of revenue and development departments. The Revenue Commissioner finally recommended that considering the phasing of the establishment of National Extension Service blocks in India, the number of development blocks to be taken up in Mysore State would be 6, 9, and 15 respectively during 1953-54, 1954-55, and 1955-56. He also proposed areas where these blocks could be located.

The Secretary, Local Self-Government, who was then in charge of this programme, proposed to Government (in his noting on the case file) that, since the financial implications of the scheme would be to the advantage to the State and the investment would be worthwhile, the scheme might be accepted by the State Government. He further proposed that recommendations of the Revenue Commissioner might be generally

approved, and the details of particular 'hoblis' or areas in each of the taluks might be selected in consultation with him. Since the scheme had financial implications, the Secretary, Local Self-Government, marked the papers to the Revenue Minister and the Chief Minister through the Finance Department.

The Finance Secretary observed: "These schemes though designed to benefit the rural area will have undue strain on the State's finances as immediate return to the State's exchequer in the form of cash is not possible." In view of this difference of opinion and also in view of the importance of the scheme, the Revenue Minister proposed to the Chief Minister that the matter might be discussed in a meeting of the Council of Ministers and the Chief Minister agreed to it. In the Note to the Council of Ministers, prepared by the Local Self-Government Secretariat, the taluks where 30 blocks were to be established were indicated.

In the third week of August 1953, the State Cabinet approved in principle the proposal to participate in the National Extension Service scheme. It decided that the Community Project Administration should be requested to provide for 27 blocks during the remaining 3 years of the First Five Year Plan according to the following phasing:

1953-54	..	7	
1954-55	..	8	
1955-56	..	12	(This number was to be in addition to the three blocks already incorporated in the Community Project area.)
<hr/>			
TOTAL	..	27	
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The State Cabinet also decided that in the series of the blocks to be established on October 2, 1953, blocks of 100 villages should be selected in the following taluks:

- | | |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------|
| (1) Gundlupet | Mysore District |
| (2) Ramanagaram | Bangalore District |
| (3) Holenarsipur-cum-Arkalgud | Hassan District |
| (4) Harihar and Davangere | Chitraldurg District |
| (5) Koppa-Narasimharajapura | Chickmagalur District |
| (6) Siddalghatta | Kolar District |
| (7) Turuvekere | Tumkur District |

A Government Order was issued from the Local Self-Government Secretariat on September 9, 1953, in accordance with the decision of the Council of Ministers. The Order laid down a definite administrative organisation for implementing the National Extension Service scheme. The Director of Agriculture was designated as Development Commissioner in overall charge and control of the working of the N.E.S. blocks in the State. The Deputy Commissioners of the Districts in which the blocks were located were designated *ex officio* Deputy Development Commissioners; and the Sub-Divisional Officers of the sub-division, as *ex officio* Project Executive Officers. Finally, separate Block Development Officers for each block were appointed to assist the Sub-Divisional Officers in the scheme exclusively. Heads of Departments and their subordinate staff and Amildars of the taluks concerned were requested to render full co-operation and assistance to the Deputy Commissioners and other staff attached to the scheme to ensure its successful working.

Thus the Government Order brought the block programme into the framework of general administration by fully involving Deputy Commissioners and Sub-Divisional Officers. It, however, treated the 'block' as an *ad hoc* unit of the National Extension Service rather than as a unit of overall planning and development. By providing for an independent development officer for a block, for the time being at least, the Mysore Government accepted the suggestions of the Community Project Administration and did not follow the Bombay pattern where the Mamlatdar (counterpart of Amildar) himself became the *ex officio* Block Development Officer. This was a vital step in the emergence of the block as a distinct unit of development administration. In allocating the block, the State Government did not relate it in any definite way to the taluk. The Revenue Commissioner had, in his report to Government (cited earlier), pointed out that the block in some cases would be co-terminous with a taluk but in many other cases equivalent to only a fraction of the taluk. Four blocks which were allotted, namely, Ramanagaram-Kanakapura, Holenarsipur-Arkalgud, Harihar-Davangere and Koppa-Narasimharajapura, covered fractional areas of two taluks. They cut across boundaries of taluks, the existing administrative units.

THE PRINCIPLES OF GEOGRAPHICAL CONTIGUITY AND
ADMINISTRATIVE CONVENIENCE

The next series of blocks was to be allotted in 1954. The Community Project Administration intimated to the State Government an allocation of seven blocks for 1954-55, as against nine proposed by the State Government earlier. In its letter of August 4, 1954, to the State Government, apart from reiterating that the blocks should be so sited as to constitute compact administrative charges like the sub-division, the C.P.A. stressed that these should be contiguous to those allocated previously. The Community Project Administration further elaborated the principles of location of blocks as follows: (a) the National Extension Service should not normally cut across administrative boundaries; (b) three or four National Extension Service blocks taken together should coincide with the revenue administrative jurisdiction like the sub-division, and (c) the Collector and the Sub-Divisional Officer should be brought fully into the picture. The Community Project Administration considered it essential that the boundaries for general administration as well as development work should coincide.¹¹

The Third Development Commissioners' Conference, held from May 27 to 30, 1954, thought that it should be possible in most States to cover the entire country with N.E.S. blocks during the Second Five Year Plan period, as proposed by the Planning Commission in its letter of April 28, 1954 to the State Governments. It recommended that allocation of future N.E.S. blocks to the States and the conversion of N.E.S. blocks to Community Project blocks should be made with reference to the past

11. The Programme Evaluation Organisation of the Planning Commission, which was set up in August 1952 to make a systematic and periodic assessment of the methods and results of the Community Development Programme, in its First Evaluation Report (May 1954) commented as follows: "The selection of particular villages to constitute a 'project' or 'block' has in some cases followed inexplicable lines. A revenue or a geographical unit would naturally be the most appropriate principle of block formation. Where geographical unit, that is primarily a similarity of physical and economic factors, indicates a choice which violates present revenue or administrative demarcations there would be nothing wrong in redrawing the administrative limits so as to place the whole of the project or block administration within one administrative unit. In some cases incongruities of this sort noticed hitherto have been removed by appropriate action."

performance.

While putting up the above proposals of the Government of India to his superior, the Development Commissioner also drew attention to an excerpt from the monthly letter of the Community Development Administrator to the Development Commissioners wherein the difficulties arising out of the scattered location of blocks were vividly brought out as follows: "The siting of National Extension Service blocks seems to have created a lot of trouble for us all... except for a few States, National Extension Service blocks have been located singly, spread all over the Districts. The reasons underlying this might have been geographical, linguistic, political, or others. Where also, for instance, the existing firka development blocks as in Madras and Andhra or the conversion of the existing 15 Pilot Projects into National Extension Service blocks, had to be taken into account, the scattering of the blocks in different Districts was no doubt inevitable. The scattering of the blocks, however, had added to the difficulties of supervision. It has also prevented the integration of all development staff within the administrative unit which was one of the prime objectives of the scheme...we are trying to correct this handicap in future allotment."

Taking all these considerations into account, the Secretary, Local Self-Government, submitted a note in respect of allotment of blocks in 1954 series, to the Minister of Agriculture (then in charge of Community Projects) and the Chief Minister. He explained that there was not much force in the argument that for 'regional justice' the blocks should be allotted evenly in all parts of the State or in all the Districts inasmuch as the entire country was to be covered fully by National Extension Service blocks by the end of the Second Five Year Plan. He, therefore, recommended that the new blocks to be selected might be contiguous to the blocks already taken in the year 1953. This, he felt, would mean more efficiency and cheaper administration. He added that if the blocks were to be taken up at the various different and unconnected places, the possibility of the scheme not being successful to the extent desirable would have to be borne in mind. The Minister of Agriculture, however, suggested that the matter might be placed before the Council of Ministers and the Chief Minister agreed to it. The final decision of the Council of Ministers, embodied in the Government Order of

September 3, 1954, was that six National Extension Service blocks might be located as hereunder:

(1) Mudigere Taluk	Chickmagalur District
(2) Holenarsipur and Arkalgud Taluk	Hassan District
(3) Siruguppa Taluk	Bellary District
(4) Holalkere Taluk	Chitraldurg District
(5) Srinivasapur Taluk	Kolar District
(6) Chandasekharapura Hobli (Gubbi Taluk)	Tumkur District
Hebbur Hobli (Tumkur Taluk)	

Difficulties in Adhering to the Principles

In allotting these blocks the State Government found it difficult to conform to the principle of organising units of blocks into a compact and administrative charge under a Sub-Divisional Officer. Indeed, the block, though an area smaller than a taluk, could not even be confined to the jurisdiction of a taluk. Thus, the block in Tumkur District covered two taluks, namely, Gubbi and Tumkur, and was scattered into two different revenue subdivisions under two different P.E.Os. The principle of contiguity had to be modified to meet the expectations of the people. The difficulties of fitting the block within the taluk also arose out of the fact that it was not possible simultaneously to adhere to three yardsticks, viz., number of villages (100), area (150 sq. miles), and population (66,000). Thus, Siruguppa Taluk had a population of 74,973, though having only 86 villages. Srinivasapur, with a population of 78,364, had a population of 12,364 in excess of the standard pattern of population. In both these cases, in the event of limiting the population to 66,000, several villages from the taluk had to be excluded. This, however, would have denied the benefit of Community Development to a small number of villages which would have caused agitation and discontent amongst the villagers and administrative inconvenience. The Government, therefore, decided, on the recommendations of the Development Commissioner, that the entire taluks of Siruguppa and Srinivasapur, despite the excess population of over 8,000 and 12,000 respectively, might be treated as single block areas. On the other hand, Mudigere taluk had a population

of only 49,000 and fell short of the required population of 66,000 by 17,000. In this case, therefore, the Development Commissioner proposed that a few villages of Chickmagalur taluk, contiguous to Mudigere, might be added on and this was also agreed to by the State Government.

The Allocation of the Third Series (1955)

The question of allocation of the third series of blocks came up in 1955. In April 1955 series, five blocks were allotted to Mysore State. They were inclusive of the blocks for development of irrigation area under Tungabhadra Project. The principle of contiguity was again stressed by the Community Project Administration in its letter of February 1, 1955 to the States. The five blocks allotted by the C.P.A. were allotted by the Government of Mysore to the taluks indicated hereunder:

- | | |
|-----------------------|---|
| 1. Bangalore District | Nelamangala |
| 2. Mysore District | Hunsur |
| 3. Mandya District | Krishnarajpet |
| 4. Shimoga District | Hosanagar |
| 5. Bellary District | Irrigable area under TBP
in Hospet and Bellary
taluks |

This allotment was based on the principle of an equitable distribution of blocks rather than the administrative considerations detailed in the letter of the Community Project Administration. Indeed, the new programme of National Extension Service evoked widespread interest in all the areas of the State and representations and petitions from leading members of the public for the location of blocks in their areas had made it impossible to confine the final selection merely to administrative considerations like contiguity, etc.

The Fourth Development Commissioners' Conference, held at Simla from May 9 to 12, 1955, resolved that the State Governments should divide their respective States into a suitable number of Development Blocks where a systematic programme of local development works can be undertaken. The *Notes on the Review of Operational Position*, placed before the Conference for its consideration, emphasised that as "the entire area of each State is to be covered under the National Extension Service (by the end of the Second Five Year Plan), forward planning

of the programme will greatly help to reduce the bottlenecks which might otherwise come up in the way of efficient and co-ordinated development of the areas". Forward planning was conceived as "drawing up a phased programme of work from year to year for different stages, viz., (i) Pre-Extension, (ii) Extension, (iii) Intensification, (iv) Normalisation." The Conference further decided that new areas for the N.E.S. scheme "should be selected depending upon the response of the people to the local works programme at least six months in advance of the starting of the work".

At the Fourth Development Commissioners' Conference, some Development Commissioners wished to know Community Project Administration's views regarding the phasing of the programme from year to year during the Second Plan period. Purely for purposes of forward planning, the C. P. A. worked out such a phased programme and the statement indicating the same was forwarded to all Development Commissioners in a letter dated May 27, 1955. It was clearly indicated that that phased programme was to be regarded as a purely tentative statement prepared as a guide to enable the State Governments to frame their own proposals for inclusion on the Second Five Year Plan, having regard to their personnel and resources position. It was made clear that the actual allotment of N.E.S. blocks as well as the number to be converted into C.D. blocks would, however, be decided every year by the Central Committee on the basis of the availability of fully qualified and trained personnel, progress already made in the programme, people's participation, as well as all other relevant factors. The statement indicated the number of N.E.S. blocks allottable and the number to be converted into C.D. blocks during the years 1956-57, 1957-58, 1958-59, 1959-60, 1960-61 and 1961 and April 1962. A general formula expressing the number of N.E.S. blocks allottable to each State every year was also indicated on this basis. The number convertible into C.D. blocks was assumed as half the number of N.E.S. blocks allotted during the previous year.

On October 2, 1955, arose the question of setting up two more blocks in the State. Keeping in view the principle of contiguity, the Development Commissioner recommended the establishment of these blocks in Krishnarajanagar taluk in Mysore

District and remaining parts of Harihar and Davanagere taluks in Chitraldurg District. At this time, the Secretary for Planning felt that if too many blocks, on the principle of contiguity, were to be started in the same District, it would impose great strain on the officers. It was, therefore, desirable to phase the programme without undue strain on the personnel in any particular District. The proportion of population covered was the lowest in Bangalore and Tumkur Districts. He, therefore, recommended that the two blocks might be allotted to Bangalore and Tumkur so that the proportion of population covered by the National Extension Service in these Districts might come nearer to the State average. The recommendations of the Secretary for Planning were accepted by Government and two additional blocks were allocated as follows:

1. Magadi Taluk Bangalore District
2. Chicknayakanahalli Taluk Tumkur District

Chicknayakanahalli taluk was chosen because it was contiguous to the areas of Gubbi and Turuvakere blocks. The entire taluk with a population of 83,000 was included in a single block. In Magadi taluk, 100 villages making a total population of 66,000 were selected, in an area adjoining Ramanagaram taluk. Thus, the principle of contiguity was adopted but only to the extent to which it was consistent with equitable distribution of blocks in all the Districts of the State.

The Impact of Local Pressures

In siting areas for locating of blocks during the period 1953-1955, the State Government had to reconcile the principles of geographical contiguity and administrative conveniences with the demands and representations from the people. These came in the shape of oral and written representations of the Members of the Legislative Assembly and other leading members of the public, such as office-bearers of local bodies, local branches of political parties 'voicing public feelings', representations made to the Ministers during tours, questions raised on the floor of the Legislative Assembly, and mass petitions given in person to the Minister or sent by post. As the programme progressed, there grew up a feeling both within the State Government circles and outside it that if the entire area of every State was to be covered in a phased manner with the National Extension Service blocks,

it was obvious that *ad hoc* siting of blocks from time to time was bound to lead to confusion, and, later on, to painful readjustment of the territorial boundaries of the existing blocks. Time was, therefore, ripe for a comprehensive and systematic delimitation of the State into the number of blocks allotted to it.

AD HOC SITING OR SYSTEMATIC DELIMITATION ?

The Centre Suggests a Comprehensive Approach

A similar realisation arose in other States and at the Centre. A comprehensive approach for systematic delimitation of blocks was adumbrated by the Community Project Administration for the first time in 1956. Its policy letter stated:

"In connection with the preparation of the Second Five Year Plan, the Planning Commission had suggested a division of each District into convenient planning areas, e.g., tahsils or taluk boundaries for a coverage of National Extension Service. ... From the several requests recently received from the State Governments proposing readjustment of the territorial boundaries of the existing projects or blocks, it appears that the suggestions made by this Administration have not been fully understood. As the Second Five Year Plan, during which the whole country is proposed to be covered with the National Extension Service Programme, is to go into operation very shortly, a time has now come when the State Governments should review the whole matter and delimit the boundaries of the National Extension blocks, not only those which are in operation but also those proposed to be taken up during the Second Five Year Plan, in order to avoid administrative difficulties and the need for readjustment at a later date. This may be done in the light of the following suggestions:

- (a) The primary object of delimitation of National Extension Service blocks is to take the unit of entire administration one step further down than the unit of revenue administration. For instance, in major States, a revenue sub-division will have four/six or more complete National Extension blocks; in smaller States, the smallest revenue administration unit, namely,

the taluk, will generally have two or more complete National Extension Service blocks. The National Extension Service will, therefore, be in complete units of the revenue administration of the State and will not cut across the administrative boundaries. This will also serve to prevent parallel functioning of the departmental staff.

- (b) The total number of blocks required to cover the whole State will be obtained by dividing the total number of population of the State by 66,000. For purposes of this calculation, city population of more than a lakh each will not be taken into account. In this calculation, major panchayats and urban areas having a population up to one lakh are included, though for purposes of actual programme such areas would normally be left out.
- (c) Where, for administrative and other reasons, it is considered that a block should be co-terminous with a tahsil, taluk or thana and delimited with a population of over 66,000, there is no objection to this. The figure of 66,000 is only the average for the State as a whole. Such blocks with a larger population will offset the blocks with a smaller population so that the average for the State is maintained. On an average, the ratio of 10 Village Level Workers per 66,000 population for the State as a whole should be maintained. In other words, it should be ensured that in no case the charge of a Village Level Worker exceeds 1,300 families. It may happen that a particular block, with a smaller area and a lower population coverage may need a smaller staff, e.g., 6-7 Gramsevak; while another block with a larger population and a larger area may need a larger staff by way of Gramsevak, e.g., 13 or 14 Village Level Workers. The readjustment of the strength of the staff between blocks is not normally envisaged but where it becomes necessary, a reference to the Community Project Administration may be made and prior approval obtained."

The Ad Hoc Allotments of 1956

The allocation of blocks in 1956 could not, however, await a full delimitation of the State into blocks. The April 1956 allotments was as follows:

- | | |
|---|----------------------|
| (a) Magadi Taluk | Bangalore District |
| (b) Mulbagal Taluk | Kolar District |
| (c) Jagalur Taluk | Chitraldurg District |
| (d) Hospet Taluk including
Mallapur sub-Taluks | Bellary District |
| (e) ChamaraJanagar, adjoining
Gundalpet block | Mysore District |

Even the allotment of blocks for October 1956 series continued to be on an *ad hoc* basis. Blocks were allotted, one for each taluk, as below:

- | | |
|--|----------------------|
| (1) Doddaballapur Taluk | Bangalore District |
| (2) Periapatna Taluk | Mysore District |
| (3) Belur Taluk | Hassan District |
| (4) Turubekere Taluk | Tumkur District |
| (5) Chintamani Taluk | Kolar District |
| (6) Uncovered areas of Harihar
and Davangere Taluks | Chitraldurg District |

The last allotment was made only on the basis of the principle of approximately equal coverage of population in all the Districts.

The Attempt at Systematic Delimitation (1957)

Meanwhile, thought was being given in the Planning and Development Secretariat to the idea of comprehensive delimitation. The Finance Secretary who was consulted opined on the delimitation proposal as follows:

"Before delimiting the boundaries of the National Extension Service blocks, a policy decision as to the areas of the revenue and welfare units in the State may perhaps be taken whether the former should conform to the latter or the latter to the former. I am also of view that the average population coverage of 66 thousand per development block may in the context of a rapid increase in population rate in the country and without detriment to the projects be raised to about a lakh."

The State Government also addressed the Divisional

Commissioners in the matter in order "to evolve a regular programme for gradual extension of welfare administration".

The starting point of a comprehensive delimitation of the State into blocks was a readjustment of the boundaries of the blocks already allotted. Steps had to be taken to make the block areas co-terminous with the taluks. The Ministry of Community Development (which was set up in September 1956 in view of the growing magnitude and importance of work so far dealt with by the Community Project Administration) emphasised the need for readjustment in the following words:

"Blocks should be so sited in one or more contiguous units as to constitute compact administrative charges, e.g., tahsil or taluk. Where this pattern had not been followed in siting of the blocks in the past, the new blocks now allotted should be utilised for correcting the position."

It was in pursuance of this policy that when additional blocks were allocated to the Mysore State by the Ministry of Community Development in 1957, opportunity was taken to readjust the boundaries of existing N.E.S. blocks to make them co-terminous with the taluk boundaries. A number of taluks which were hitherto only partially covered were allotted fractional block to cover the remaining area. The allotment of the new blocks was as follows:

<i>Sl. No.</i>	<i>Name of existing block/ Taluk/area</i>	<i>No. of additional blocks allocated</i>
1.	Ramanagaram-Kanakapur Block	2 (Ramanagaram Taluk) 1½ (Kanakapur Taluk)
2.	Mudegere-cum-Chickmagalur	1 (for Chickmagalur)
3.	Tumkur and Gubbi	1 (for Gubbi Taluk)
4.	Bellary and Hospet	1 (for Bellary Taluk)
5.	Magadi	1
6.	Chamarajanagar	1
7.	Alland	1
8.	Yadgir	1
9.	Srinivasapur	1
10.	Koppal	1
11.	Gokak	1

<i>Sl. No.</i>	<i>Name of existing block/ Taluk/area</i>	<i>No. of additional blocks allocated</i>
12.	Raibagh	1
13.	Dharwar	1
14.	Indi	1
15.	Baindur	1
16.	Bantwal	1
17.	Magadi	$1\frac{1}{4}$
18.	Holenarasipur	$1\frac{1}{4}$
19.	Nelamangala	$1\frac{1}{2}$
20.	K.R. Pet	$1\frac{1}{2}$
21.	Chicknayakanahalli	$1\frac{1}{4}$
22.	Mudigere	$1\frac{1}{2}$
23.	Gangavathi	$1\frac{1}{2}$

THE PROBLEM OF FRACTIONAL BLOCKS

The Ministry of Community Development, however, raised serious objections to the allotment of fractional blocks. It felt that "fractional allotment of blocks is not only objectionable in principle but also entails accounting and financial difficulties". The Ministry invited reference to the recommendations of the Fifth Development Commissioners' Conference at Nainital, held from May 5 to 8, 1956. These recommendations were as follows:

"As the block boundaries should not cut across the administrative boundaries it may be necessary sometimes to have blocks with somewhat larger population with a possible consequent reduction in the total number of blocks for the State. In cases where the population of the block is somewhat large, e.g., about 1,00,000, the blocks may be considered as equivalent to two blocks, though it may be administered as a single unit. Where, however, the population is less, it should be considered as only one block, even though the population exceeds 66,000.

"Some of the blocks now in operation cut across administrative boundaries. The question of their administration in the post-intensive period was examined. It was

felt that in such cases it may be possible to allot a new N.E.S. block adjacent to this block and add some of the villages of the old block to the new block so that the block boundaries will conform to the administrative boundaries. It was recognised that this would mean that certain villages will have the advantage of a longer period of intensive development. The Block Advisory Committee will no doubt bear this in mind in drawing up the overall programme for the new block."

The letter from the Ministry of Community Development, containing the objections, was followed by a D.O. letter from the Joint Secretary, Ministry of Community Development, dated July 14, 1957. He stated, "I am sorry that in my tour note of an earlier visit to Mysore, I had suggested certain blocks should be treated as equal to $1\frac{1}{2}$ blocks. When this suggestion was examined in the office, here, we find that the fraction of blocks would lead to considerable financial and accounting difficulties. It is, therefore, suggested that where a population is somewhat larger, e.g., about one lakh, the block may be considered as two blocks though it may be administered as a single unit. In some cases, the blocks may have a population coverage of less than 66,000. The staffing pattern of the large size blocks which are to be treated as equivalent to two blocks has not been laid down, the intention being that there should be some flexibility in the matter to meet the needs of different areas. Generally, the number of Gramsevaks will have to be larger than ten. But it may not be necessary to duplicate the extension staff in all cases. The Block Development Officer should be one only in every case." The Joint Secretary further urged that the entire Mysore State should be delimited in accordance with these suggestions.

The new proposals caused considerable difficulty and even a little embarrassment to the State Government. It had already allotted fractional blocks and Government Orders in this behalf had already issued. Each of the two alternatives suggested by the Government of India had its own difficulties. The first alternative was the disestablishment of fractional blocks. The State Government could not accept it, as the withdrawal of fractional blocks, it feared, would be followed by considerable public criticism. The second alternative of expanding the fractional blocks into whole integers was not found expedient

because that would have meant an unnecessary increase in the cost inasmuch as staff allotment and budget provision meant for a block would then be spent on a smaller area. All the same, the State Government felt that the accounting and financial difficulties in working fractional blocks were not such as to be insurmountable or insuperable. Those could be met by working out schematic budgets for fractional blocks, i.e., $1\frac{1}{4}$, $1\frac{1}{2}$ and $1\frac{3}{4}$. It, therefore, pointed out to the Government of India that parts of taluks which were allotted fractional blocks could be treated as distinct units, with their own budget provision, though, administratively, they would be manned by the existing block staff with suitable additions. The State Government felt that keeping these fractional blocks as distinct units for accounting purposes was necessary because the original blocks would continue for some time and the fractional blocks had to run the normal course of three years. On the other hand, so far as future allotments were concerned, the State Government expressed its willingness to follow the recommendations of the Nainital Conference.

Modifying these recommendations to suit the particular circumstances of Mysore State, the State Government decided that for purposes of future delimitation they would adopt the following formula, viz.,

One block for taluks with a population of 90,000;

Two blocks for taluks with a population between 90,000 and 1,50,000; and

Three blocks for taluks with a population of more than 1,50,000.

Accordingly, it delimited the entire State of Mysore, (expanded State after States' reorganisation of 1956), having 171 taluks, into 262 development blocks, (as shown in Appendix II). The Ministry of Community Development in its letter, dated January 20, 1958, informed that it was not possible to accept the proposals of the State Government regarding allotment of fractional blocks as distinct units with separate budget provisions. The matter could not be settled through correspondence and, therefore, it was discussed by the Secretary, Planning and Development Department, on February 14, 1958, with the senior officers of the Ministry. This was followed up by a letter, dated February 18, 1958, from the State Government. Finally, the

Government of India agreed as a special case to the proposals of the State Government in determining the fractional equivalent of blocks. This was, however, subject to the condition that, in future, fractional block would not be allotted by the State Government and that the whole of the State of Mysore would be delimited into 262 blocks.

In its letter of October 1, 1958, the State Government made proposals for the allotment of $8\frac{1}{2}$ additional blocks by way of marginal readjustments of the comprehensive proposals already made by it to the Ministry of Community Development. The Ministry pointed out that some fractional units of blocks had already been included in the total delimitation of 262 blocks. It, however, agreed to the allotment of an additional unit to existing six blocks but only on their attaining Stage II. [The original pattern of National Extension Service block (extensive development stage), Community Development block (extensive development stage) and Post-Intensive block was modified on the recommendations of the Balvantray Mehta Study Team, Community Projects and National Extension Service, in May 1958. According to the new pattern the stages were: Pre-Extension Stage I, and Stage II.] Thus, the State came to be delimited into a total of 268 blocks. The Ministry of Community Development categorically stated that this number should be treated as final. With the final acceptance of the proposals of the State Government for delimitation of the entire State into 268 blocks, the problem of fitting the new unit of development block into the existing administrative system was finally solved. Subsequent allotment of the blocks was made in consonance with this comprehensive delimitation (*vide* Appendix II).

PART TWO

STAFFING

BLOCK DEVELOPMENT OFFICER—EXCLUSIVE OR EX OFFICIO? (1957-59)

ONE OF THE IMPLICATIONS of the block, as an area unit of operation of the Community Development and National Extension Programme, was that there would be a team of Extension Officers and 10 Village Level Workers headed by a Block Development Officer. If a block was to be considered as a distinct unit of development, it was essential that it should have an exclusive Development Officer. As mentioned earlier, when the initial decision was taken to introduce the National Extension Service in Mysore State, a subsidiary decision was also taken that each block would have an exclusive Block Development Officer, with a non-gazetted status. In so deciding, the Government of Mysore was fully aware of the position in Bombay State where the post of the Mamlatdar (known as Amildar in Mysore State) was combined with that of Block Development Officer.¹ With

1. The question was discussed in considerable detail at the Third Annual Conference of Development Commissioners held from May 27 to 30, 1954. The Conference was of the view that the Collector and the Sub-Divisional Officer should be brought into the picture. It, however, felt that at levels below that of the Sub-Divisional Officer, it might not be desirable to combine, in the same functionary, regulatory and revenue functions with development functions. Results of experiments which were being conducted in Bombay and Madras, in the direction of such a combination, needed to be watched before it could be recommended for adaption by other State Governments.

The Programme Evaluation Organisation, which made a special study of the working of the Bombay system, observed in its Second Evaluation Report (April 1955) that "not only for the present, but practically for all time, the roles of the Mamlatdar and of Block Development or Extension Officers must be kept separate. The Mamlatdar in common with other rural officers must indeed have a developmental bias, and he would carry out his traditional role of assisting all other departments as much as he can. But his functions as a magistrate and as a revenue officer are by themselves so specialised and voluminous that he would not really be able to attend to developmental functions with the requisite

the reorganisation of the Mysore State, this issue again cropped up. When 20 blocks were allotted in 1957, the selection and training of Block Development Officers to man these blocks had to be made. At that stage, the Finance Department raised the question whether Block Development Officers had to continue or these posts could be reduced or abolished and Amildars of taluks made *ex officio* Block Development Officers. The Finance Minister opined that there was not much co-ordination between the Block Development Officer and the Amildar, and this co-ordination could be brought about only if the Amildars were made *ex officio* Block Development Officers, as in Bombay State. That would also save expenditure.

When this suggestion came from the Finance Department, the Planning and Development Department pointed out that though this controversy whether the Block Development Officer should be the same officer as Amildar of the Taluk or a different person had been going on ever since the inception of the Community Development Programme, there was no way of going back and amalgamating the job of Block Development Officer with that of the Amildar. There was a definite decision taken by the Ministry of Community Development that if the State Government wished to a scheme of Community Development run, it had to fall in line and separate the development department from the revenue department. The Planning and Development Department added that almost all the States, except Bombay, had followed the pattern, suggested by the Government of India, of having a separate Block Development Officer for each block as distinct from the Mamlatdar of the taluk. Furthermore, even the State of Bombay which had all along refused to appoint a separate Block Development Officer was now thinking of doing so. The Planning and Development Department concluded that combining the two posts would not necessarily result in economy, since the Amildar had to be given the assistance of additional staff to do this work and the apparent economy in combining the two posts would not be much in reality. The Planning and Development Department was aware of the then

degree of continuity and concentration. Even if he were to try and do so, he would not be the best person to do it. The Mamlatdar is the 'Executive' *par excellence*. Promotion of group thinking and voluntary group action is not his *forte*."

current controversy that the traditional approach, attitudes and methods of work of the Tahsildar, attuned to law and order and revenue collection functions, would not be conducive to promoting development activities and that the Block Development Officer had to have special skills in working with the people through 'extension methods', but it did not specifically mention it in its inter-departmental note. Apart from pressing for an exclusive Block Development Officer, the Planning and Development Department also proposed that the post of Block Development Officer should be upgraded to a gazetted rank. It felt that if the Block Development Officer was of a lower rank, he could not pull his weight with officials of other departments with whom he was closely associated in day-to-day work.

Since the Finance Department and the Planning and Development Department differed, it was decided to place the matter before the Council of Ministers. The latter decided that the question should be taken up again with the Government of India. The Chief Minister discussed it with Shri S.K. Dey, Union Minister of Community Development, towards the end of August 1957, in Delhi. The Union Minister pointed out that the Bombay system of integrating the posts of Mamlatdar and Block Development Officer had in practice not worked well; the Study Team appointed on Community Project and National Extension Service by the Committee on Plan Projects (Balvantray Mehta Study Team) also had commented adversely on it.

The Planning and Development Department accordingly again proposed to the State Cabinet that there should be separate Block Development Officers and that they should be of gazetted status and that recruitment of the Block Development Officers should be made from all the development Departments so that the cadre of Block Development Officers might be built up. The State Cabinet approved these proposals. The Department also decided to separate the functions, at the Gramsevak's level, between the revenue and development Departments in Belgaum Division which had been incorporated in the Mysore State from the erstwhile State of Bombay. This bifurcation was given effect to from October 1957. With this decision, a definite and distinct advance was made in evolving the block as a separate unit of development with an independent officer of a gazetted rank, and the persisting possibility of development units getting

merged into revenue units of administration was rendered remote. In September 1959, the pay-scale of the Block Development Officer was revised from Rs. 250-300 to Rs. 250-400 to be on par with the pay-scale of the Tahsildar. This was a recognition of the fact that the duties and responsibilities of the Block Development Officer were not in any way less than those of the Tahsildar.

STAFFING OF MULTI-UNIT BLOCKS (1959)

While dealing with the delimitation of the State into 268 blocks, a reference was made to the question of the staffing of multi-block taluks. The staffing pattern of Stage I blocks consisted of one Block Development Officer; eight Extension Officers for agriculture, animal husbandry, co-operation, panchayats, rural industries and rural engineering, social education and programme for women and children; ten Gramsevakas, two Gramsevikas; one Progress Assistant; one Accountant and veterinary, medical and ministerial staff. The Union Ministry of Community Development had already indicated that for a taluk consisting of $1\frac{1}{2}$, 2 or 3 blocks, the entire staffing pattern need not be duplicated. The State Department accepted these suggestions, as it felt that considerable savings on staff expenditure in multi-block taluks could be achieved by avoiding duplication of staff. A single Block Development Officer could look after the development programme in a taluk, irrespective of the number of units of blocks in that taluk. Similarly, there could be one single Extension Officer (Industries), one Progress Assistant and one Accountant. The staffing pattern was finally approved in the Government Order of May 16, 1959. (Details are shown in Appendix III.) A definite staffing pattern for $\frac{1}{4}$ unit and $\frac{1}{2}$ unit blocks was also prescribed.

THE IMPACT OF PANCHAYATI RAJ (1959)

Momentous changes in the institutional structure of community development in Mysore State took place with the advent of Panchayati Raj or Democratic Decentralisation in 1959. These

were the results of an all-India development which had an impact on Community Development organisation in all the States. The Mysore Village Panchayats and Local Boards Act, 1959, which came into operation on November 1, 1959, ushered in the State of Mysore the new system of Panchayati Raj. This system was based on the recommendations made in the reports of certain committees appointed by Government—both at the Centre and in the State.

A Study Team² was appointed in 1957 by the Committee on Plan Projects³ of the Planning Commission to report on Community Project and National Extension Service with a view to achieving economy and efficiency with specific reference to contents, arrangements for execution and personnel requirements of the Community Development and National Extension programme. It recommended “a devolution of power and a decentralisation of machinery of administration”, wherein “such power was exercised and such machinery controlled and directed by popular representatives of the local area”. The Study Team recommended the creation of representative bodies which would be in charge of the entire rural development programme in the area, including agriculture, animal husbandry, co-operation, minor irrigation works, village industries, primary education, local communications, sanitation, health and medical relief, local amenities and similar subjects. A three-tier system of self-governing institutions was proposed, the middle-tier institution having a jurisdiction co-extensive with the development block. This body, to be constituted by indirect election and called the Panchayat Samiti, was conceived as “a single representative and vigorous democratic institution to take charge of all aspects of

2. Shri Balvantray G. Mehta, then a Member of Parliament, was the leader of the Study Team.

3. The Committee on Plan Projects (COPP) was constituted by the National Development Council (NDC) to look into the question of securing maximum possible economy, avoiding waste, and ensuring efficient execution of Plan projects.

The National Development Council consists of all the Chief Ministers of States, important Ministers in the Central Cabinet and Members of the Planning Commission and is presided over by the Prime Minister. It is, thus, the highest policy-making organ whose decisions are virtually binding on all the State Governments and the Central Government. It does not, however, find a place in the Constitution.

development work" in its area. The Panchayat Samiti would, it was envisaged, supervise and guide Panchayats, approve their budgets, allocate grants to Panchayats and have at its disposal, besides general and specific grants-in-aid from Government, resources of its own derived from local cesses and taxes and a percentage of land revenue assigned to it. The representative body at the district level—the Zilla Parishad—was to have only co-ordinating and supervisory functions.

In selecting the block as the basis for the creation of the pivotal self-governing institution in the scheme of democratic decentralisation, the Study Team felt that the jurisdiction of the proposed local body should be neither so large as to defeat the very purpose for which it was created nor so small as to militate against efficiency and economy. The Team found that the village panchayat was too small in area, population and financial resources to carry out all the proposed functions; the Districts were too large in area or population or both. The block, however, offered an area large enough for functions which the village panchayat could not perform and yet small enough to attract the interest and service of the residents. Some of the blocks were already functioning as developmental units and had been equipped for this purpose with adequate personnel in different fields.

The Balvantray Mehta Study Team also recommended that "the Centre should lay down the policy and prescribe the broad outlines of a scheme and then leave it to the State Governments to work it out in accordance with their own practices and in consonance with local circumstances, the Centre only satisfying itself that the general objectives of the scheme are carried out."

The Mysore Village Panchayats and Local Boards Act, 1959, provided for the three-tier system of democratic decentralisation recommended by the Balvantray Mehta Study Team. But, instead of establishing a Panchayat Samiti for a block, it established a Taluk Board for the entire taluk. This change was necessitated by the local conditions of Mysore State. Mysore had a long tradition of local government institutions. In 1950, the Government of Mysore had appointed a Committee under the chairmanship of Shri Venkatappa to recommend a co-ordinated and integrated pattern of local government institutions. It recommended a two-tier structure consisting of Village Panchayats and

District Boards. Legislation of 1952 was based on these recommendations. But before these were implemented, in view of a considerable body of opinion to retain the Taluk Boards, Government appointed another Committee under the chairmanship of Shri Chandrasekheriah in 1954 to review the entire question. This Committee recommended a three-tier structure with Village Panchayats, Taluk Boards and District Boards, all of which were to be elected executive agencies with definite areas and functions allotted to them.

The Mysore Village Panchayats and Local Boards Act, 1959, bore the imprint of both the Balvantray Mehta Study Team Report and the Chandrasekheriah Committee Report. It may be recalled that the staffing pattern worked out in Mysore State had provided for a single Block Development Officer for the entire taluk though it might have been delimited into more than one block unit. The 1959 Act gave a statutory place to the Block Development Officer in the scheme of the local government institutions. In all block areas Block Development Officer was designated in the Act as an executive officer of the Taluk Board. Furthermore, under Section 130(2) of the Act, the entire block administration was placed under the control and supervision of the Taluk Board. Since the blocks had already been delimited so as to fit in with the boundaries of the taluk and since each taluk had one Block Development Officer, the new pattern of local self-government admirably fitted in with the administrative pattern that had already evolved.

The Community Development block at the beginning was an area for the implementation of Community Development Programme. From the very inception, it was stipulated that the block funds should be considered as nucleus funds and these funds and programmes had to be supplemented by the normal development programmes of Departments. The National Development Council at its meeting held on June 3-4, 1958, had resolved that development blocks should be treated as basic units for purposes of planning and development. In accordance with this, the Mysore Government had directed that progressively new development activities should be brought within the fold of the block agency. Such activities included school buildings programme, rural water supply, etc. The State Government, however, felt that a full realisation of the objective of the

National Development Council could only come about when the block authorities were fully aware of the provisions made by various development departments for expenditure on schemes within their block. It was equally important that targets and achievements in the field of development in the block should be confined not only to Community Development budget but also to the amounts spent by other departments. Accordingly, Government laid down the procedure by which plans of various departments might be broken up into block-wise plans and then integrated into a single comprehensive development plan of the block. Thus, block as a unit of Community Development Programme emerged as a unit of overall planning and development.

With the establishment of Taluk Boards, this process was completed and the block (as delimited in a taluk) also became a unit of local self-government. The funds coming by way of popular contributions, the funds of the Taluk Board, of the development block budget and of the development Departments could now all be combined into an integrated programme for area development to be decided upon by the Taluk Board and to be implemented by a team of officers of various development departments headed by the Block Development Officer who became the Chief Executive Officer of the Taluk Board.

STATE REORGANISATION—PROBLEMS OF
INTRODUCING UNIFORMITY IN STAFFING
(1959-60)

This indeed would have marked the culmination of the gradual process of the emergence of the taluk as the unit of planning and development, having within it a definite number of delimited blocks. But this was not to be. The State of Mysore was reorganised under the States Reorganisation Act of 1956. Under the Act, certain areas of the erstwhile States of Madras, Bombay and Hyderabad and the Centrally administered area of Coorg were integrated with the old Mysore State to evolve the new State of Mysore. Each of these areas coming from five different State administrations had different administrative organisation, practice and procedure. One of the important tasks in the new Mysore State was to evolve uniformity out of

this diversity. In the present case, the application of the Government decision stipulating one Block Development Officer for a taluk as a whole irrespective of number of units of blocks in that taluk led to retrenchment of posts of Block Development Officers in some of the taluks where more than one Block Development Officer were functioning. There were several such taluks, in the District of South Kanara and other areas which had come to Mysore State from the erstwhile State of Madras. These taluks comprised more than one unit of blocks and each unit had an independent Block Development Officer.

The Planning and Development Department issued a Government Circular on May 25, 1959, stipulating that in all such taluks there would, in future, be one Block Development Officer and the Extension Officers and other staff would be according to the scale prescribed in the Government Order of May 16, 1959. The Circular also laid down that headquarters of some of the members of the staff might be located in sub-centres—important places—located within the block. The Divisional Commissioners were requested to bring about revised administrative arrangements to give effect to the Government decisions mentioned in the Circular. The Divisional Commissioner, Mysore, recommended that in South Kanara District, where there were six taluks, there might be only six Block Development Officers, in accordance with the Government decision. This would render some Block Development Officers surplus in that District, who might be appointed in other parts of the State. At the same time, the Divisional Commissioner proposed the appointment of one Assistant Block Development Officer in those taluks which had two blocks, and of two Assistant Block Development Officers where there were three blocks. The reason advanced for this proposal was that the jurisdiction of each Block Development Officer would otherwise be too large and that with the average calibre of a Block Development Officer as it was, it would not be possible for him to manage the several blocks in the taluk and at the same time also act as Secretary of the Taluk Board.

The proposal was examined in the State Secretariat. The Deputy Development Commissioner pointed out in his note that though, *prima facie*, the proposal of the Divisional Commissioner appeared to be reasonable, it would create many consequential

problems. First of all, the decision to appoint an Assistant Block Development Officer in South Kanara District would have to be applied to all other taluks having two or more blocks. A regular cadre of the Assistant Block Development Officers would, therefore, have to be created. But in the standard staffing pattern for development blocks approved by the Ministry of Community Development, there was no category of Assistant Block Development Officers. Secondly, the proposal also ran counter to a deliberate and conscious decision to make taluk rather than the block as the unit of development. The question of powers and functions of the Assistant Block Development Officers would be the third difficulty. Either he could enjoy full powers of a Block Development Officer or he could merely be an executive assistant to the Block Development Officer. If it were the latter, the post of an Assistant Block Development Officer would not give much relief to the Block Development Officer. On the other hand, if the former alternative were to be accepted, the Assistant Block Development Officer would have to be located at the sub-centre and given all the necessary office assistance. This would militate against the basic principle of having a unified development administration in the taluk. In Mysore State, the taluk, and not the block, had been consistently adopted as the unit of development. The taluk was a well-known administrative unit and convenient to the people also. In the Village Panchayats and Local Boards Act, this concept had also been followed. The Block Development Officers had to be the Chief Executive Officers and Secretaries of the Taluk Boards and, as such, there could be only one Block Development Officer for a taluk. The concept of an Assistant Block Development Officer was new and had not been accepted by the Ministry of Community Development. It would cause difficulties in recruitment, demarcation of functions and powers and many other administrative matters and besides involve extra cost.

The Secretary, Planning and Development, agreed with these views and submitted the case to the Chief Minister who was also the Minister of Community Development. But the Minister of Health who hailed from South Kanara District called for the papers and suggested that the whole question should be put up to the Council of Ministers. The Chief Minister approved of this proposal. The Council of Ministers felt

that the question of appointing Additional or Assistant Block Development Officers for heavy charges might be examined further. At the same time, the Cabinet approved the proposals made by the Planning and Development Department in its Circular of May 25, 1959. In accordance with the Cabinet decision, orders were issued on March 11, 1960, regarding the readjustment of development administration in South Kanara District.

There was, however, an immediate reaction from the Members of the State Legislature from South Kanara District. They, in their letter of March 14, 1960, addressed to the Chief Minister of Mysore, stated that the people in the South Kanara District were opposed to any change in the existing pattern of the development administration. They felt it would not be possible for a single officer to carry out the development programmes of two or more National Extension Service blocks and at the same time discharge the duties as a Chief Executive Officer. As an alternative they suggested that the taluk boundaries might be altered to fit in with the boundaries of the National Extension Service block and put under the charge of one officer who would be a Block Development Officer-cum-Amildar. (Block Development Officer-cum-Amildar was not yet buried!) The matter had, therefore, to be again discussed in the Council of Ministers. Three clear alternatives were placed before the Cabinet in the note prepared by the Planning and Development Secretariat—(1) reaffirming the earlier decision that there would be only one Block Development Officer for a taluk with the necessary complement of staff; (2) breaking up the existing boundaries of taluks, making them co-terminous with block boundaries and placing the reorganised taluks in the charge of Amildar-cum-Block Development Officers; or (3) appointing Assistant or Additional Block Development Officers. The State Cabinet decided that Deputy Block Development Officers should be appointed where there were more block units than one, and that the senior-most Block Development Officer should be the Chief Executive Officer of the Taluk Board and should be given powers of general superintendence and control over Deputy Block Development Officers.

The implementation of the Cabinet decision, however, required some further clarifications; whether the Deputy Block

Development Officer would be on the same cadre as the Block Development Officer, how he would be recruited, what exactly would be his jurisdiction and powers and functions, and what would be his relations with the Taluk Board? These points were raised by the Deputy Development Commissioner on the file and discussed between Secretary, Planning, and the Chief Secretary. The Chief Secretary felt that it would be anomalous to keep the Deputy Block Development Officers on the same scale as the Block Development Officers. It was, therefore, decided to make a 'technical' distinction by introducing an Efficiency Bar in the Block Development Officer's pay-scale; an officer below the Efficiency Bar was to be designated as Deputy Block Development Officer. This new cadre of Deputy Block Development Officers was created by the Government Order of August 30, 1960. In this Order, it was clarified that the jurisdiction of the Deputy Block Development Officer would be one block in the taluk. The Deputy Block Development Officer would assist the Chief Executive Officer in all development activities in his jurisdiction.

This position was a compromise between the earlier position of treating the taluk as the unit of development and local government having a unified pattern of administration, and the standardised pattern elsewhere in India where each block was developed into a full-fledged unit of administration. The old system of taluk being a unit of administration continued inasmuch as it was the unit of local government and there was a single Chief Executive Officer for this local unit. On the other hand, the concept of a block as a unit of development administration was introduced to the extent that for each block there would be separate headquarters, a separate officer designated as Deputy Block Development Officer though working under the principal Block Development Officer and a set of Extension Officers working in the office situated at the sub-headquarters.

COMMENTS

THE SITUATION as it exists today in 1962 can by no means be considered as a position of stable equilibrium. The half-way point between the taluk as the unit of development and the block as the unit of development has an inherent possibility of a shift to either of the two extremes. If a Deputy Block Development Officer and a set of Extension Officers have to be effective they will have to be vested with independent powers. The independent administration of a unit of block, though situated in a taluk, may doubtlessly create conditions in which the block would also strive to be the unit of local government. A separate local government unit for each unit of block situated in a taluk would no doubt require an amendment of the Mysore Village Panchayats and Local Boards Act of 1959. But such an amendment cannot be ruled out. If an independent local body were to be created for a part of a taluk which constitutes the single unit of block, it would already have full-fledged administrative apparatus with a Deputy Block Development Officer, a set of Extension Officers and Village Level Workers.

This then is the history of the case of the emergence of the taluk as a basic unit of development in the State of Mysore. The concept of the block as the new unit of planning and development was not rejected outright. It was grafted on the existing unit of administration in Mysore State, viz., the taluk.

The Case also reveals the claims of the block as the unit of development were never subjected to a searching scrutiny or examination. The communication of April 29, 1953, from the Community Project Administration did not mention any justification for the choice of this new unit. The State Government, while noting that a block would be a unit equivalent to and in many cases smaller than a taluk, did not consider whether for development purposes a distinct unit should at all come into existence. Apparently the block was chosen on purely *a priori* ground. It was definitely not conceived as a natural unit of administration—natural in the sense that it covered a certain geographically homogeneous region, e.g., a valley which would lend itself to being a unit of planning and development.

Indeed the National Extension Service scheme envisaged 'block' as a standard unit to be established irrespective of variation of soil, climate, rainfall, etc. It had also an inherent difficulty of simultaneously fulfilling the conditions of a stipulated area and a stipulated population. A varying density of population obviously meant that either the population basis or the area basis would be adhered to. All cases of abnormal density of population, either too high or too low, were left to be covered by flexibility to be given in locating the blocks.

The most significant stage in this Case is the transition from an *ad hoc* siting of blocks to a systematic delimitation of the entire State into 268 blocks. Indeed, the idea of a comprehensive and systematic delimitation could have been as an immediate corollary to the decision to cover the entire country with National Extension Service and Community Development blocks. That the delimitation was not concurrent but followed with considerable time lag, resulted, to an extent, in a painful readjustment which could have been avoided.

* * *

Theoretical considerations as to what would constitute the best unit of planning and development—considerations based on Economics, Political Science or Sociology—have not figured in this Case Study; the focus here has been the mechanics and the process of decision-making in Government. These theoretical considerations were, however, always there in the background. An area could be considered a unit of development on the basis of some natural geographical factors. This would be a regional approach to development. Secondly, it could also be viewed with reference to various development functions; each development function or service could be discharged in an optimum manner only when optimum conditions for the demand and supply for such service exist. This would be an economic approach. The third could be an administrative approach—the adequacy of administration to deal with an area. The sociological approach would be to consider the homogeneity and cohesiveness of the community to work together as a unit of planning and development. These theoretical considerations are not mutually exclusive, nor will they lead to identical results.

Application of the theoretical principles to the problem of choice of a unit of development could lead to different conclusions, for example, in the State of Maharashtra a choice has been made in favour of District as the unit of development because it is felt that it is at this level that there could be sufficiency of finance and adequacy of administrative personnel to make local planning and development real and effective. On the other hand, the Ministry of Community Development and many others hold that from the point of view of area development, block would be the proper choice; the District is too large a unit for purposes of community development and sometimes too unwieldy even for an efficient administration. The development and local government unit has to be small enough for the people's comprehension and should be near enough for their influence to be demonstrably apparent. The devolution of authority to a body at the District level would hardly be a decentralisation of authority. Panchayat would be too small a unit to deal with comprehensive development programmes; it would have neither the necessary political leadership nor the adequate administrative apparatus nor sufficient finance.

* * *

Though block came into existence as an 'artefact' of Government, it has progressively evolved into a full-fledged development unit. Many factors have gone towards its evolution as a viable unit. Firstly, it was conceived as a unit of the Community Development Programme which was a comprehensive and multi-purpose programme dealing with all aspects of village life, calculated to bring about an intensive area development. Secondly, it had an organisation consisting of a team of Extension Officers headed by a Block Development Officer and assisted by 10 Village Level Workers, which emerged as a common agency for all the development departments. Thirdly, as a logical corollary, it was deliberately promoted in recent years as a unit of planning. No development activity for which any official agency is responsible, it was decided, should fall outside the block plan. Indeed the National Plan would now actually be built from block plans.

Again, with the introduction of Panchayati Raj, the block

became the unit of local Government. Already with the establishment of Block Advisory Committees and Block Development Committees, the foundations were laid for institutionalised popular participation at this level. The community inhabiting the block area may slowly and gradually develop some of the characteristics of a self-relying socio-economic cohesive community. The emergence of such a community, in the block, will be the result of the people in that area supporting the Panchayat Samiti (Taluk Board) for bringing about its social and economic progress. If the taluks and Districts have developed through sheer continuation into distinct corporate units with characteristics of their own, blocks may likewise well develop into units with homogeneity and cohesiveness.

In so far as the arrangements in Mysore State are concerned, the choice has been made in favour of the taluk. In the case of more than half the number of taluks, the block and the taluk are co-terminous, whereas in respect of other taluks the delimitation of blocks has made the new unit of block and old unit of taluk fit into each other. Unless, therefore, the large-scale operation of breaking taluks so as to make them co-terminous with blocks is taken up, the present position in Mysore is likely to be continued. By a series of administrative arrangements, a system has emerged whereby blocks have been woven into taluks and evolved as areas of intensive development units of local government, agencies of developmental administration and areas of planning. They may well grow over a period of time into cohesive socio-economic communities.

APPENDIX I

THE BUDGET PROVISION AND STAFFING PATTERN OF DEVELOPMENT BLOCKS (1952-58)

S. No.	Year during which the pattern was evolved	Description of the pattern	Schematic Budget Provision	Duration	Staffing pattern
1	2	3	4	5	6
I	1952-53	Community Projects	Rs. 65 lakhs (reduced subsequently to Rs. 45 lakhs)	3 years	1 Project Executive Officer 3 Block Development Officers 9 Extension Officers (3 Agriculture, 3 Animal Husbandry and 3 Panchayats) 6 Social Education Organisers 3 Overseers 36 Village Level Workers 3 Accountants—Store Keepers 3 Senior Clerks 3 Typists—Clerks 12 Class IV Servants 6 Veterinary Stockmen 6 Messengers (Veterinary) 1 Chief Social Education Organiser 3 Medical Officers 3 Compounders 3 Sanitary Inspectors 3 Lady Health Visitors 12 Midwives 3 Sanitaricians (Health Educators) 6 Sweepers 3 Drivers 1 Asst. Engineer

1	2	3	4	5	6
II 1953-54	(a) National Extension Service		Rs. 7½ lakhs (inclusive of the short-term credit of Rs. 3 lakhs)	3 years	1 B.D.O. 3 Extension Officers (Agriculture, Animal Husbandry and Panchayats) 2 S.E.Os. 1 Overseer 10 Village Level Workers 1 Accountant—Store Keeper 1 Senior Clerk 1 Typist 3 Class IV Servants The following personnel in addition to that shown against (a) above: 2 Village Level Workers (Women) 2 Veterinary Stockmen 2 Messengers (Veterinary) 1 Chief Social Education Organiser (for 3 Blocks) 1 Medical Officer 1 Compounder 1 Sanitary Inspector 1 Lady Health Visitor 4 Midwives 1 Sanitarian (Health Educator) 2 Sweepers 1 Driver 1 Asst. Engineer, (For 3 Blocks during C.D. period) 1 B.D.O. 7 E.Os. 10 Gramsevakas 2 Gramsevikas 1 Progress Assistant
IIA 1956-57	N.E.S. & C.D. (During the Second Five Year Plan.)		Rs. 15 lakhs	3 years	
	(b) Community Development Block (Basic type of Community Project)				
			Rs. 12 lakhs	6 years	

1	2	3	4	5	6
III	1958-59	(a) Pre-Extension	Rs. 18,800	1 year	1 Accountant—Store Keeper 1 Cashier 1 Typist 3 Class IV Servants 1 Block Development Officer/Deputy Block Development Officer 1 Extension Officer (Agriculture) 5 Gramsevakas 1 Clerk—Typist 1 Peon (Class IV Servant) 1 Block Development Officer 8 Extension Officers 10 Gramsevakas 2 Gramsevikas 1 Progress Assistant 1 Accountant—Store Keeper 1 Sub-Engineer 1 I Division Clerk 2 II Division Clerks 1 Typist 4 Class IV Servants 1 Jeep Driver 1 Compounder 1 Sanitary Inspector 1 Lady Health Visitor 4 Midwives 2 Sweepers
		(b) Stage I	Rs. 12 lakhs	5 years	
		(c) Stage II	Rs. 5 lakhs	5 years	Same as above except the Medical and Veterinary personnel.

APPENDIX II

DELIMITATION OF MYSORE STATE INTO
DEVELOPMENT BLOCKS

(referred to at pp.235-236)

<i>District</i>	<i>Name of Tahsil/Taluk.</i>	<i>Name of the Block</i>	<i>Area Sq. miles</i>	<i>No. of villages (inhabited)</i>	<i>Total population (cities with one lakh and above are left out)</i>	<i>No. of Units of Blocks allotted</i>
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Bangalore	Bangalore North	Bangalore North	163	173	160488	2
	Bangalore South	Bangalore South	229	195	141222	2
	Hoskote	Hoskote	260	305	112130	2
	Devanahalli	Devanahalli	226	236	90302	1
	Channapatna	Channapatna	206	132	131403	2
	Anekal	Anekal	203	196	98271	2*
	Dodballapur	Dodballapur	312	272	109754	1
	Nelamangala	Nelamangala	256	287	106514	1½
	Magadi	Magadi	358	306	136442	2
	Ramanagaram	Ramanagaram	244	121	92769	1
	Kanakapura	Kanakapura	589	229	168789	2
Kolar	Kolar	Kolar	335	317	182162	2
	Bagepalli	Bagepalli	361	204	70042	1
	Gudibanda	Gudibanda	87	80	22907	1
	Gouribidanur	Gouribidanur	339	205	127021	2
	Chickballapur	Chickballapur	249	212	78885	1
	Malur	Malur	248	282	89774	1
	Bangarpet	Bangarpet	237	279	91354	2*
	Mulbagal	Mulbagal	316	305	93891	1
	Srinivasapur	Srinivasapur	321	285	84542	1
	Chintamani	Chintamani	313	327	105208	1*
Sidlaghatta	...	Sidlaghatta	265	234	75005	1
Tumkur	Madhugiri	Madhugiri	422	272	131042	2
	Koratagere	Koratagere	256	215	78710	1
	Sira	Sira	584	216	125932	2
	Tiptur	Tiptur	303	216	94142	2*
	Kunigal	Kunigal	383	289	135433	2
	Pavagada	Pavagada	523	135	95579	1
	Chinaikanahalli	Chinaikanahalli	413	198	91889	1¼
	Gubbi	Gubbi	466	291	125699	1½
	Turuvekere	Mayasandra	305	222	86467	1¼
	Tumkur	Tumkur	403	343	186469	2½
Chitaldurg	Chitaldurg	Chitaldurg	477	159	138354	2
	Challakere	Challakere	854	155	124990	2
	Molkalmuru	Molkalmuru	295	73	49016	1
	Hosadurga	Hosadurga	517	179	87328	1
	Hiriyur	Hiriyur	647	138	97845	2
	Jagalur	Jagalur	377	126	70237	1
	Davangere	Davangere	366	152	146151	1
	Harihar	Harihar	184	77	63485	1
	Holalkere	Holalkere	419	156	91964	1¼

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Bellary	Sandur	Sandur	481	82	52523	1
	Hadagalli	Hadagalli	587	71	101961	2
	Harpanahalli	Harpanahalli	611	75	117633	2
	Kudligi	Kudligi	703	98	108462	2
	Siruguppa	Siruguppa	403	83	74966	1
	Hospet & Mallapuram	Hospet	384	94	133238	1
	Bellary	Bellary	652	101	184929	2
Mysore	Mysore	Mysore	317	134	95039	2
	K.R. Nagar	K.R. Nagar	231	142	107895	2
	Heggadade-vankote	Heggadade-vankote	706	163	75399	1
	Nanjangud	Nanjangud	372	140	170145	3*
	T. Narasipur	T. Narasipur	223	122	135016	2
	Yelandur	Yelandur	104	28	40133	1
	Kollegal	Kollegal	1076	78	138908	2
	Hunsur	Hunsur	342	155	73689	1
	Periyapatna	Periyapatna	333	163	78725	1
	Gundlupet	Gundlupet	355	122	98320	1
Mandya	Chamarajanagar	Chamarajanagar	479	147	172082	2
	Srirangapatna	Srirangapatna	143	83	64697	1
	Nagamangala	Nagamangala	402	338	101166	2
	Maddur	Maddur	238	153	116948	2
	Pandavapura	Pandavapura	214	136	70395	1
	Mandya	Mandya	277	172	124572	1½
	Krishnarajpet	Krishnarajpet	352	282	108151	1½
Hassan	Malavalli	Malavalli	307	166	13616	1¼
	Hassan	Hassan	357	348	132447	2
	Alur	Alur	164	232	33380	1
	Arsikere	Arsikere	479	316	140687	2
	Saklespur	Saklespur	407	215	53398	1
	Channarayana-patna	Channarayana-patna	404	363	119675	2
	Belur	Belur	310	317	70487	1
Chikmagalur	Arkalgud	Arkalgud	265	242	85739	1
	Holenarsipur	Holenarsipur	232	196	79322	1
	Kadur	Kadur	554	235	118715	2
	Tarikere	Tarikere	466	165	82015	1
	Chikmagalur	Chikmagalur	644	211	96344	1½
	Koppa-Narasimharajpur & Sringeri	Koppa-Narasimharajapur	694	190	71438	1
	Mudigere	Mudigere	365	134	49026	½
Shimoga	Shimoga	Shimoga	409	167	96620	2*
	Bhadravathi	Bhadravathi	257	115	80494	1
	Channagiri	Channagiri	458	168	101922	2
	Honnali	Honnali	338	135	85394	1
	Thirthahalli	Thirthahalli	483	241	60083	1
	Shikaripur	Shikaripur	342	124	64320	1
	Sorab	Sorab	412	247	65382	1
	Hosanagar	Hosanagar	539	201	37514	1

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
South Kanara	Udapi	Udapi	357	81	290559	4
	Puttur	Puttur	760	94	186026	4
	Kundapura	Kundapura	600	83	174415	2
	Karkala	Karkala	629	82	171919	3
	Mangalore	Mangalore	228	87	223861	2
	Belthangadi	Belthangadi	664	101	157256	2
Coorg	North Coorg	Somwarpet Mercara Ponnampet	386	136	229405	3
	South Coorg		566	67		
			638	94		
Belgaum	Belgaum	Belgaum	394	132	144488	2
	Chikodi	Chikodi	479	90	269834	4
	Khanapur	Khanapur	675	220	99872	1
	Parasagad	Parasagad	611	113	124935	2
	Ramdurg	Ramdurg	470	103	90051	1
	Sampagaon	Sampagaon	435	123	154494	2
	Athani	Athani	744	86	185609	2½
	Hukkeri	Hukkeri	382	118	174414	2½
	Gokak	Gokak	596	103	174650	3
	Raibagh Mahal	Raibagh Mahal	372	52	91449	1
Dharwar	Byadgi	Byadgi	168	62	58853	1
	Gadag	Gadag	413	54	144260	2*
	Hongal	Hongal	299	146	89627	1
	Haveri	Haveri	402	112	124198	2
	Hirekerur	Hirekerur	310	124	96562	2
	Hubli	Hubli	290	57	65923	1
	Kalghatgi	Kalghatgi	259	83	50860	1
	Kundagol	Kundagol	235	50	68817	1
	Mundargi	Mundargi	336	49	48963	1
	Nargund	Nargund	176	30	33313	1
	Navalgund	Navalgund	418	57	75237	1
	Ranibennur	Ranibennur	362	104	120813	2*
	Siggan	Siggan	344	124	98004	2*
	Dharwar	Dharwar	430	115	161020	2
	Ron	Ron	476	90	127874	2
	Shirhatti	Shirhatti	367	76	81447	1
Bijapur	Bagalkot	Bagalkot	352	88	103601	1
	Bagevadi	Bagevadi	764	117	137029	2
	Bijapur	Bijapur	1028	105	209283	3*
	Bilgi	Bilgi	327	65	59187	1
	Hungund	Hungund	512	155	135526	2*
	Jamkandi	Jamkandi	450	65	143374	2
	Muddebihal	Muddebihal	570	149	112419	2*
	Mudhol	Mudhol	349	75	83268	1
	Indi	Indi	854	122	141279	2
	Badami	Badami	527	144	136396	2
	Sindgi	Sindgi	830	144	135023	2
North Kanara	Bhatkal	Bhatkal	129	53	50053	1
	Honnar	Honnar	276	87	74490	1
	Siddapur	Siddapur	333	192	41777	1
	Sirsi	Sirsi	556	240	57695	1
	Yellapur	Yellapur	508	125	19112	}
	Mundgod	Mundgod	257	63	15615	

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Ankola	Ankola	348	80	48181	1
	Kumta	Kumta	235	112	77457	1
	Karwar	Karwar	284	57	78725	1
	Haliyal	Haliyal	315	86	36516	1
	Supa	Supa	732	127	18159	1
Raichur	Raichur	Raichur	588	153	149593	2
	Manvi	Manvi	749	159	104724	2
	Yelburga	Yelburga	545	137	103723	2
	Kushtagi	Kushtagi	536	161	100601	1
	Lingsugur	Lingsugur	739	177	111658	2*
	Deodurg	Deodurg	595	168	89855	1
	Koppal	Koppal	542	143	130855	2
	Gangavathi	Gangavathi	514	127	86921	1½
	Sindhanoor	Sindhanoor	623	126	75750	1
Bidar	Bidar	Bidar	445	148	151761	2
	Bhalki	Bhalki	589	156	140454	2
	Santpur	Santpur	456	146	91357	2
	Homnabad	Homnabad	592	135	168285	3
Gulberga	Chitapur	Chitapur	691	114	145058	2
	Shorapur	Shorapur	711	170	123554	2
	Jevargi	Jevargi	746	147	91214	2
	(Andola)					
	Afzalpur	Afzalpur	514	87	72214	1
	Chincholi	Chincholi	604	126	92440	1
	Serum	Serum	365	102	82988	1
	Gulberga	Gulberga	664	137	186446	1
	Yadgir	Yadgir	666	130	159830	2
	Alland	Alland	678	127	134524	2
	Shahapur	Shahapur	627	143	123830	2
TOTAL						262

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*

In addition to the above, it was decided subsequently in July 1959 to allot one more unit to the following Blocks when they would reach Stage II (*vide* Government Order No. P & D 209 NES 58, dated the July 6, 1959):

1. Gulberga
2. Doddaballapur
3. Hospet
4. Chintamani
5. Khanapur
6. Bagalkot

6

GRAND TOTAL 268

* The second unit was dropped and given to Mundgod Taluk in North Kanara District.

APPENDIX III

THE UNIFORM PATTERN OF STAFF PRESCRIBED FOR THE SEVERAL CATEGORIES OF THE EXISTING AND FUTURE DEVELOPMENT BLOCKS IN MYSORE STATE
(referred to at p.240)

Size and category of Block	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20																			
	B.D.O.	E.O. (Agri.)	E.O. (A.H.)	E.O. (Co-op.)	Sub-Engr./Jr. Engr.	Sub-Overseer	E.O. Social Edn. (Male)	E.O. Women's Pro-gramme (Mukhya Sevika)	E.O. (Panchayats)	E.O. (Rural Industries)	Gramsevakas	Gramsevikas	Accountant-cum-Storekeeper	I Division Clerk	Progress Assistant	II Division Clerk	Typists (II Dn.)	Class IV Servants	Jeep Drivers	
1. Stage I Single Unit Block or Single Unit C.D. Block of old pattern.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	10	2	1	1	1	2	1	4	1	
2. Stage I Double Unit Block or Double Unit C.D. Block of old pattern.	1	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	1	20	4	1	2	1	4	2	6	2	
3. Stage II Single Unit Block.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	10	2	1	1	1	2	1	4	1	
4. Stage II Double Unit Block.	1	2	2	2	1	1	2	2	2	1	20	4	1	2	1	4	2	6	2	
5. A Double Unit Block, consisting of one unit in Stage I and another unit in Stage II—both under the charge of a common B.D.O.	1	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	1	20	4	1	2	1	4	2	6	2	

6. A treble block would have a suitable combination of staff of a single unit and a double unit block

7. Quarter Unit Block

Gramsevak 2 or 3

8. Half Unit Block

(1) Extension Officer (Agri.) 1

(2) Gramsevak 5

(3) Driver 1

Note:—Other Extension Officers for the above fractional blocks, *i.e.*, the quarter units and half units added on to the existing blocks in Government Order No. P & D 98 NES 57, dated April 9, 1957 and the blocks to which they were added have to work as single administrative units for all practical purposes. All the extension staff sanctioned for the old blocks to which the quarter and half units were added on by way of delimitation in the said Government Order have to work both for the old blocks and for the fractional units. For, purposes of break-up budget, audit and accounts, the additional staff of fractional blocks is counted against the fractional units.